Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-043
Tuesday
7 March 1989

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CEMA 'Minisummit' Opens in Prague 6 Mar

LD0603113589 Hamburg DPA in German 1219 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—The East bloc Central Committee secretaries responsible for CEMA economic matters are to meet in Prague for a CEMA "minisummit" on Monday. An originally announced meeting at the level of heads of state and government was downgraded to a lower level apparently because there are such great differences between the CEMA member states that a "grand summit" might have led to a disagreement.

According to hearsay, the main topic for the talks is the coordination of the 5-year plans for the 1990's and the attempt to achieve the convertibility of East bloc currencies.

However, the issue of political restructuring will be discussed, something that all the CEMA countries, apart from the GDR and Romania, have deemed necessary, although to very different extents. The meeting will be held in the "Praha" party hotel and will be strictly sealed off from the public.

Baka Represents Poland

LD0603234189 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 GMT 6 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Leszek Mazan]

[Text] Prague, March 6—PUWP Political Bureau member, CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka is representing PUWP at a two-day meeting of economic secretaries from communist and workers parties from CMEA countries, which started here today.

The talks here, regarded to be particularly important for prospects of the socialist integration, at the same time very frank and not lacking controversies, focus on problems of deepening the process of mutual exchange of information and the coordination of party actions in the economic sphere. The opinion prevails that CMEA must adjust itself to the pace of changes taking place in the world as any extra delay in this field would be disastrous for the future of the socialist community.

Therefore, the process of realization of joint decisions taken so far and many a time still being in the phase of documents alone, was the subject of major criticism. It was stressed that there should be no "taboo" subjects in the talks between CMEA members. Only in this way, it is possible to carry out a genuine and not a make-believe revision of CMEA's structures and mechanisms.

Such an attitude was presented by Poland which also put forward a number of initiatives aimed at giving the more realistic and more concrete shape to "socialist integration" which is frequently treated as a slogan alone, and to the still distant prospect of the common socialist market for goods, technologies, work and convertible currency.

Poland put forth a widely discussed proposal to set up a working group for the examination of the current condition of CMEA.

CSSR's Lenart Arrives

LD0603101989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Today a working meeting of economic secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the CEMA member states opened in Prague. On the agenda of the meeting are questions of intensifying mutual information among the fraternal parties and the coordination of party approaches in the field of economic cooperation.

The CPCZ delegation at the meeting is headed by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev is also present.

SED's Mittag, Delegation Arrive

LD0503224389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2049 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Today a delegation of the SED Central Committee arrived in Prague for talks between the economic secretaries of the CEMA member states' Central Committees. The delegation is headed by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

Lobov Appointed Warsaw Pact Chief of Staff

LD2502002389 Budapest MTI in English 2258 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—In agreement with the governments of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, Army General Vladimir Lobov has been appointed chief of staff of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty.

CSCE Foreign Minister Talks Open in Vienna

SFRY's Loncar Arrives

LD0503213589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar arrived in Vienna this evening to attend a meeting of foreign ministers representing signatories to the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The meeting opens tomorrow and will last until March 9.

The ministerial meeting precedes the start on March 9 of the first broad negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe and of new negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures.

Loncar will address the gathering on Wednesday, March 8.

During the Vienna visit, Loncar is also expected to meet several ministers taking part in the meeting.

Loncar, CSSR's Johanes Meet

LD0703102489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Excerpt] The deliberations of the foreign ministers of the countries participating in the CSCE will continue today with speeches by the heads of 13 delegations. The Vienna meeting is accompanied by very intensive diplomatic activity.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, who will deliver a speech today, yesterday held talks with his Yugoslav counterpart, Budimir Loncar, on opportunities for improving bilateral cooperation. They also briefed each other about the situation in their countries. [passage omitted]

Varkonyi Meets Shevardnadze

LD0503221789 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 5 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian foreign minister, met Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Vienna on Sunday [4 March] evening.

In a cordial, friendly atmosphere, the sides emphasized the importance of the conferences on disarmament and confidence-building that would start in Vienna, and expressed the hope that, in the current favourable international situation, the talks would yield success.

Mr Shevardnadze gave details about Soviet-American relations, and the two foreign ministers exchanged views on the topical issues of settling the Middle East crisis.

Varkonyi Confers With James Baker

LD0503221889 Budapest MTI in English 2031 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 5 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian foreign minister, met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Vienna on Sunday. Mr Varkonyi had this to say to MTI's Vienna correspondent about the 50-minute meeting:

"Mr Baker emphasized that the U.S. side supported the political and economic reform programme that was under way in Hungary, and offered help in creating a market-oriented economy in this country. Both of us attributed utmost importance to the conferences on disarmament and confidence-building in Europe that would start in Vienna. I reconfirmed that President Bush would be welcome in Hungary and that we wished to maintain the system of high-level contacts and relations, and make advances in economic and other fields of cooperation".

Varkonyi Meets Van den Broek

LD0603194389 Budapest MTI in English 1759 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 6 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi on Monday met Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, in Vienna. The foreign ministers stated that relations betwen the two countries are developing well. Mr van den Broek informed Mr Varkonyi that the Netherlands awaits the visit of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth to The Hague with great expectations. The Hungarian prime minister is scheduled to attend an international environmental protection conference. The foreign ministers termed the climate that has come about for the now beginning talks as favourable.

Zhivkov Favors Increased Role for Intelligentsia

AU2302060189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Feb 89 pp 1-4

[Report by Todor Zhivkov, "distributed in advance" to the delegates at a meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with "representatives of the intelligentsia" held on 20 February in Sofia: "The Restructuring of Our Society Is the Vocation and Responsibility of the Intelligentsia"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, if we were to look at this meeting in the context of our period, it could be considered as part of the valuable **tradition** established in our country, and especially in the work of the BCP Central Committee.

—I am talking about the tradition of holding periodic meetings between the party leadership and the representatives of the intelligentsia in order to brief them on topical problems and consult with them.

Considering the importance of the present meeting, the Politburo discussed this report in great detail before submitting it.

Our meeting is taking place in a period of crucial importance, involving great responsibility in regard to our country's development, the development of socialism, and of the world as a whole.

—This is not only a period of assessment, but also a period in which we should boldly engage in essential innovations.

—The coming years are of decisive importance for our response to this great challenge.

It is natural that every social community, every social group, every individual citizen determine his own meaningful position in the restructuring processes that are under way in our country.

—This is not only required in respect to everyone's subjective attitude, party affiliation, education, profession, etc.

—No. The objective circumstances in which we live today urgently require that every one of us adopt a definite stand.

It is clear that there will be different views in the present restructuring process, that there will be a pluralism of opinions.

—Nevertheless, it is even more evident that the place and role of all social communities and strata of our society should be taken into consideration in this process, that the subjective potential of restructuring should be renewed.

The role and place of the intelligentsia are of exceptional importance in this process.

Our stand is well known:

—The party has always treated our intelligentsia with **respect** and has considered it as an **irreplaceable social force** in bulding and developing the new society.

Nothing, absolutely nothing can replace this force, cast doubt on its mission of **creating** cultural values, of **developing** our intellectual life, and of **actively participating** in sociopolitical processes.

It is our unshakable conviction that the present cause of restructuring can be successful only if it becomes the **cause of our national intelligentsia.**

We have adopted this conviction as a political principle.

Under the new conditions, this principle should be elevated to a qualitatively new level, as we used to say in according with the accepted formula.

—It is natural that in the present period of radical change in our national development, the intelligentsia should search for methods of expanding its strength and abilities.

The basis and core of our present dialogue with the intellectuals is our common concern and responsibility to transform Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

Comrades, periods of radical change in the development of a society have the peculiar feature that, along with their great importance for the future, they cast **new light** on the past development of processes and phenomena, and make it possible to elucidate numerous aspects of the past. This is an objective necessity in periods of radical change.

—It is a well-known fact that in the present period, along with all other things, the party is subjecting its own work to **an inexorable self-evaluation.**

—The party openly and **honestly**, in a truly communist manner, points out the **unresolved problems, the omissions, and mistakes** committed along our path to socialism.

We should point out at the same time that this self-evaluation was possible precisely because we traveled along a worthy road in the past. Could we have afforded to accomplish all these things if our movement did not originate from the people?

—Without these roots, without the centennial triumph of the socialist movement in Bulgaria, **our party would long since have been a political corpse;** we would have been buried a long time ago.

It is by no means necessary at this point to go into detail about the history of the socialist movement in Bulgaria.

—We could just recall that since its very beginning, our party was a Marxist party, that it developed and strengthened under the care of remarkable experts and theoreticians of Marxism, led by distinguished figures of the international workers and communist movement, such as Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov.

Internationalism has always been one of the most valuable virtues of the BCP.

The traditions of internationalism have always been and are still of great importance for the development of the BCP.

The party has always devoted due attention to the experience of the fraternal communist parties and to that of the CPSU in particular, and has analyzed this experience.

—Another question is related to how experience is assessed and to the way in which the experience of other parties has been assessed, as well as to the conclusions drawn from this assessment, and so forth.

—There is also the question of the mistakes committed in applying the principles of internationalism in our practical experience.

We will also continue to rely on international thought and experience in the future.

—It is our duty to expand our international traditions in accordance with the new historical realities.

This is one aspect of the question.

On the other hand, it is characteristic of the BCP to have grown up and developed as a vital political force, capable of adapting Marxist-Leninist analysis to the specific conditions existing in our country and capable of developing appropriate solutions and solving urgent social tasks.

—The **alliance between the party and the intelligentsia** which was established before the socialist revolution represents one of these solutions.

—This, is one of the reasons for the high standards of party theory in our country, for the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas upon the development of our national culture and arts, upon education in Bulgaria, and so forth.

It is a fact that in periods of drastic change our party was strong enough to implement such changes, regardless of the circumstances under which it was working.

In regard to the inner-party aspects in the prerevolutionary period this capacity of our party manifested itself in particularly difficult moments of its history.

Let us recall the **sectarian period**, which has been frequently and recently mentioned.

—The critical evaluation of this period is well known and the harm which the sectarian views caused to the party are also well known.

—However, even in that epoch and even in our country, forces existed in our country which taking a risk, consistently and perseveringly worked for the implementation of the party positions.

—These forces prevailed, as is known.

Over the years following the socialist revolution the party adopted decisions on a number of crucial questions which were in accordance with the realities existing in our country.

—The construction of the republic as a **people's democracy** was in full conformity with our historical conditions and tasks, in accordance with our national traditions.

—The fact that we took these traditions into consideration made it possible for us to find appropriate methods for **a socialist reorganization of agriculture** by preserving the property of the land which was not nationalized.

—Despite the difficult situation caused by the conditions of the **personality cult** during the fifties, forces existing in our party which led it to new positions.

It would be useful to digress in order to provide some additional explanation on **the BCP's attitude to the question of the personality cult.**

The party drew general conclusions and expressed its evaluations on this subject at the the BCP Central Committee April Plenum in 1956 and in the period following the plenum.

—We categorically denounced the personality cult as incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and with the principles of socialism, as being in conflict with the traditions of the BCP and with the humanitarian ideal of the new society.

—We evaluated the 20th CPSU Congress as highly important.

It is necessary to recall that prior to the April plenum, the situation in our country was critical.

—Traycho Kostov, a distinguished figure of our party, a Central Committee and Politburo member, was shot.

—Many party cadres suffered under repressive measures.

Despite this situation, there were forces which counteracted within the party and the Central Committee, thanks to which things did not come to the worst in our country.

—A group which included nearly the entire staff of the Secretariat and certain members of the Politburo was established within the Central Committee.

—This group was strong enough to prevent the killing of our comrades. A commission was even established prior to the April Plenum which reviewed all accusations against Central Committee members.

—These forces, being in control of the situation, overcame the difficulties. They organized, prepared, and held the April plenum. They assumed the leadership of the innovative processes in our party and country.

—Traycho Kostov and all other figures of our party and state who had been persecuted were rehabilitated.

—Over the decades that followed the April plenum we tried to apply the Leninist principles and norms of party life in our manysided activities.

The April line was introduced for the sake of historic justice, for the triumph of this justice.

—Neither our social sciences nor any individual has ever reached other conclusions in this respect. No serious scholar has ever expressed any doubts about this truth.

Let us make one more digression—let us talk about the **repressive measures in the Soviet Union during the Stalin period, which affected our political refugees, among others.**

It is understandable that we should discuss this question more thoroughly at the present moment.

—Following the 20th CPSU Congress, we learned the truth about numerous Bulgarian comrades, but **we did not have exhaustive information.** This became possible only following the 27th CPSU Congress.

The process of restoring historical truth affected the foreign political refugees, as well.

This also applies to the untimely death of hundreds of Bulgarians who perished as victims of terror and arbitrary justice.

The facts and data which are now available to us show that over 3,000 Bulgarian political refugees lived in the USSR during the 1917-44 period.

—They were part of the most active revolutionary cadres of the BCP and, in most cases, even leading figures. During the 1923-24 period 76 of the 130 members of the BCP Central Committee spent some time in the USSR. They were not spared by the repressive measures which affected political refugees in the USSR.

—According to indefinite data, over 1,000 Bulgarians were affected by repressive measures, and over 600 of them were killed.

—Distinguished figures such as Krustyu Rakovski, Roman Avramov, Boris Stomonyakov, Petur Iskrev, Iliya Vasilev, Ivan Pavlov, Andrey Andreev, Georgi Lambrev, Atanas Pavlov, Vulko Radinski, and others were among them.

Despite the efforts of certain party leaders and Georgi Dimitrov, in particular, our political refugees were not able to escape the repressive measures of the Stalin period. For understandable reasons, the party uncritically adopted some of his views and postulates.

—We should by no means forget that even in those years, the BCP followed the correct path toward the victory of socialist revolution.

We should be grateful to the Soviet comrades for the information that has been provided to us, for their attentive and careful attitude in revealing the circumstances under which some Bulgarian revolutionaries were subjected to repressive measures.

Our Central Committee, in turn, is doing everything in its power to bring this process to an end.

- All our revolutionaries were rehabilated **in principle** as early as following the April plenum.

—Nevertheless, we could not rehabilitate them **by name** because the necessary data was missing.

—The BCP Central Committee has not received any documents on the rehabilitation of 227 persons. We are now working to clarify the facts and after having completed this research, we will make all facts accessible to the entire public.

It is our sacred duty and responsibility to restore the name and honor of all Bulgarian revolutionaries.

The role of the 1956 April plenum for the country's development along the path of socialism is also well known.

—In the epoch when socialism was searching for solutions to numerous problems, when it was oppressed by corrupted methods, when difficulties were emerging in the international workers movement, our party found more than one correct solution.

It is necessary to stress that in going back to the April plenum, we are doing this not because we are trying to remind ourselves of the credits earned by certain party leaders.

This is the task of the historians.

We are going back to the April plenum in order to analyze **our choice** in the historical circumstances of that epoch, and to analyze **our experience** in building socialism, our **successes** and **shortcomings.**

Despite tremendous difficulties caused by phenomena of stagnation during the past period, **our country developed at high rates,** and having been the last among the fraternal countries in regard to per capita income of the population in the past, it recently achieved the **third place in per capita incomes.**

—While in 1956 our exchange of goods with all countries amounted to 650 million leva, it attained 27 billion leva in 1985.

—Our development in the social, political, and other spheres has never been disturbed by any situations of crisis.

Our intelligentsia has greatly contributed to this successful development in our country.

—For this contribution our intelligentsia has earned the infinite gratitude of the party and people.

Comrades, all this belongs to history.

The following question arose in Bulgaria following the 13th BCP Congress: Can we retain the existing model while reforming it?

The party has repeatedly stressed—and we will stress it now—that everything that is being carried out under the sign of restructuring in our countries and in the international field is possible thanks to the new policy being implemented by the Soviet leadership, led by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

When one speaks today of international experience in the renewal of socialism, experience and example play a decisive role in this, the experience and example of the Soviet Union and its political vanguard, the party of Lenin.

—The restructuring in Bulgaria coincides as a policy, a strategy, and an enthusiasm with what is being carried out in the Soviet Union, which inspires, enriches, and stimulates us in our quests and practical actions.

—The fundamental coincidence of the aims and tasks of the restructuring under way in the USSR and Bulgaria is the main determining factor in our political course. On this basis, we are developing our fraternal friendship and cooperation in all fields.

As is well known, the party, in setting the task of restructuring the whole of society, chose the revolutionary path of development.

Accordingly, we undertook a number of important measures in the economy and the political superstructure.

—Thus, we came to the December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, by whose decisions we penetrated to the core of restructuring.

—On this basis, we are considering deepening and expanding the processes of renewal.

What can be emphasized now is that there is a logic in the processes under examination, irrespective of their ebbs and flows, the zigzags in their course, a logic that places the essence of our policy in restructuring.

What does this logic boil down to in the final account?

—It boils down to the fact that in everything that we are undertaking in restructuring, we are striving to penetrate the root of things, to "sever" the "knots" that have formed in our society's development.

The period of search, analyses, and conclusions up to, during, and following the 13th BCP Congress, especially at the time of the July 1987 plenum, has been characterized by the conscious understanding and raising of a number of issues. Because of their importance, we will recall some of the questions formulated at the July plenum.

—Why, in a society that is the most humane and most just system, do distortions exist that damage the vital interests of the workers?
—Why, despite the fact that we have resolved man's fundamental problems and created a good material and production base, do we experience shortages in a number of consumer goods and services?
—Why have a considerable number of leading cadres become bureaucratic; why do they fail to take account of the laws and ethical norms, and set themselves above the latter?
—Why are gross violations allowed in implementing the party's leading role?
—Why have people been allowed to become alienated from the organs of power?

In addition to all of this, the question arises: Why, notwithstanding our fundamental rejection of the cult of personality, and despite the campaign we conducted at the April plenum [1956] and afterward, did we encounter reoccurrences of this phenomenon right up to 1987? And so on, and so forth.

With the July Concept, our party made these questions its starting point; that is, it started from the analysis of these and similar questions, from the awareness that the causes that give rise to these issues must be eliminated.

In applying this approach, we then had to take the next step—to adopt:

—the strategy of rejection of the previous model of socialism, which had already exhausted its possibilities; and

—a strategy of in-depth renewal of our socialist society.

As can be seen, we adopted a postulate that, so to speak, in its very embryo presupposes revolutionary thought and action, one which demands going to the very end in the cause of revolutionary restructuring.

—To go to the end—this meant, and still means that we must give up very many of the established ideas and ideological prejudices from the near and more distant past.

Someone may think that there is a contradiction here: On the one hand, we maintain that we have been developing at a fast pace, that we have achieved historic results, yet, on the other hand, we are bringing to light factors that demand that we should abandon the previous model and adopt a new model for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria.

No contradiction exists.

—Over a comparatively short period of time, the country's development proceeded in conditions under which the new elements embodied in the advantages of socialism were so strong and vital that the objective negative effect of the established model was blunted, albeit temporarily. Such situations are no rarity in history generally.

—No one should underestimate the fact that, in those years, Bulgaria had as yet not exhausted the possibilities of the extensive type of development.

—During the sixties and seventies, we made attempts to look for new solutions. This was the case with the reform of the economy that was begun, but not completed, mainly because of reasons of an international nature.

Thus, at a certain stage, the country's comparatively successful development was no longer able to produce the desired results on the basis of a model that contained substantial shortcomings.

—This was felt particularly strongly at the end of the seventies and the start of the eighties. Restructuring, renewal, and reforms were knocking at our door, too.

—The historic truth once again asserted itself, namely that the development of any country is realized in accordance with the objective natural laws, to which all must conform.

With regard to **the truth of socialism,** one must state this clearly and categorically:

—No one within or outside the country can deny the importance of socialism as a historical stage in mankind's development, or disparage its influence upon the modern world.

—The years of socialism are the most fruitful period in our century-long development.

Precisely because the future of this development is dear to our hearts, we, as a revolutionary party, are revealing the state of affairs in our society. In proclaiming the July Concept, the BCP Central Committee explicitly stressed that the new model relates to socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria at the present stage, and that it takes into account our specific historical conditions and possibilities.

Naturally, this model embodied in dialectical unity the demands of the general, the particular, and the individual, because, as it was emphasized, the renewal of socialism in Bulgaria is in unity with the processes of restructuring in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

This is why, under these conditions and with this approach, **the party made a profound analysis of our development and worked out a new strategic course.**

—In this manner, we came to the July plenum [1987—FBIS], in this manner the July Concept for the Further Construction of Socialism in Bulgaria was born.

—It was from these positions that we started to make preparations to hold the recent **December plenum of the BCP Central Committee.**

For certain Comrades who were following the course of events, this plenum came, as it were, by accident.

—A plenum on agriculture was under preparation, yet something completely different took place.

—Some people even supposed there were shocks in the party leadership, and disturbances in our work.

Matters became clear when the documents connected with the plenum were published.

—It became clear that the December plenum was not a simple event in the annals of restructuring.

By undertaking more or less successful steps to restructure **individual spheres** of social life, we arrived at the categorical requirement for raising the economic, political, intellectual, and other processes in society to a new qualitative state.

This was not all. The theory of restructuring was decisively "translated" into the "language" of practical actions in the process of restructuring.

If we were to sum all this up, we could say that we are advancing in the right direction, in the direction of profound revolutionary changes.

—This progress is logical and our restructuring policy is in conformity with the requirements of this logic.

It is no secret that certain social strata and groups in our country today are showing **impatience** regarding the acceleration of the innovative processes, concerning the achievement of real results.

—This gratifying fact demonstrates that the personal and social readiness for restructuring is increasing in our country.

—We, the party and state leadership, would also like to accelerate the innovative processes in order to more quickly overcome the existing difficulties in the economic and social sphere; we wish our people to live in greater prosperity and happiness.

However, we agree, and I hope you will agree with us, and realize that restructuring cannot be accomplished without appropriate preparation.

—We should not improvise nor work on the basis of outdated views.

—It is also clear that we are not able to achieve our goals at once, at one stroke.

—The question is to put everything in motion. This, however, is very difficult. We need both material and intellectual resources. A new style and method of work is required. We need strong will, energy, and a sense of civic responsibility.

Comrades, we could express this figuratively by saying: **Our progress today is possible only if everything, absolutely everything, passes through the purgatory of revolutionary renewal.**

In speaking about a purgatory we mean:
—the purgatory of theory;
—the purgatory of inexorably rejecting everything that is outdated in the essence and organization of our social life;
—the purgatory of democratization of life in all spheres.

Yes, all these things should pass through the purgatory of revolutionary renewal.
—Purging socialism from outdated elements and creating a new image of socialism in the economic, social, political, and intellectual spheres—this is the **first and basic** law of renewal.
—The role of the intelligentsia in this process involves great responsibility.

Restructuring—the vocation and the responsibility of the intelligentsia. This is how we can and should define the position and role of the intelligentsia in our social life today.

What do we mean by this?

We mean that it is no longer sufficient to regard the intelligentsia only as a subject of the cultural sphere, as it is no longer sufficient to regard restructuring in this sphere solely from the point of view of its internal needs and mechanisms.

We mean that complicated processes are under way in the fields of material and intellectual culture in our present epoch.
—Along with "dismantling" the old, classical, polarized structures of material and intellectual culture, the process of "dismantling" the classical social structures is advancing.
—We are facing profound changes within the workers class and the intelligentsia, changes related to their place and role in social life.
—Marx, during his lifetime, revealed the beginning of such trends in developing his thesis about transforming science into a production force.
—This trend, however, became visible only in the last decade under the influence of the scientific-technical revolution.

We are talking about an irresistible process of the comprehensive intellectualization of production and other spheres of social life.

Two decisive trends deserve our attention in this respect, trends which in a certain sense form a closer unity between the agents of intellectual and manual labor.

The first trend is expressed in the penetration of intellectual work and of its results in the material sphere and in the activities of social life as a whole.

—This process affects the scientific sector and other spheres of intellectual activities, including artistic culture.

—In this respect, intellectualization becomes a factor of primary importance in the material-production sphere and in other social activities.

Depending on these facts, the question of the **agent** of these activities assumes a new meaning.

—Today, not only the working class lost some of its classical features, but intellectual work is no longer as influenced by production and other social activities as it used to be.

The second trend manifests itself in the fact that profound changes are beginning in the nature of the labor of those directly engaged in material production, management, and so on.

A similar trend is already a fact in several developed countries.

The changes in technologies and the application of robots, automation, and electronics in material production are logically and inevitably leading to a relative fall in the number of members of the classical workers class engaged in the direct material process.

—The proportion of staff engaged in information, management, engineering and design, scientific production, and other work is rising.

—The proportion of services and other nonproduction intellectual forms of activity in the so-called third sector is also rising.

Evidently, all these processes must be taken into account when examining the issue of the intelligentsia's place and role in contemporary social life.

What is the real problem here?

Material production activity remains the determining sphere in man's life, just as the working class remains the leading social force.

—What is new is that under contemporary conditions, far-reaching changes are beginning to occur, both in the working class and in the place and role of people engaged in intellectual labor.

—This is leading to a new synthesis of material and intellectual life as well as their agents.

These processes increase the role of the intelligentsia in the entire intellectualization of society.

This is what we are now trying to advance as a policy in the process of restructuring.

From this viewpoint, we are changing certain previous approaches in the work with the intelligentsia.

Comrades, after the July plenum, we ran up against many problems.

What are some of these problems?

The primary question that arises is that one cannot carry out revolutionary restructuring unless one makes an analysis of the contemporary world, first and foremost of the capitalist world, but of the developed socialist countries as well.

1. Today it is vitally important to scientifically analyze the new characteristics of the capitalist world, to discover the internal mechanisms of capitalism's evolution and its regeneration as a social system.

A number of questions are posed that must be answered. For example, these include the following.

—Why are the advanced capitalist countries developing at a very **fast rate**?

—Why, despite the existence of unemployment in certain countries, has the **level of employment** in the Western economy never been so high?

—Why is there a clear trend, despite the ups and downs, for **the inflation processes** in the developed capitalist countries to decline?

The analysis of these questions would be incomplete and inaccurate if we failed to consider the following:
—the changes in the mechanism of the **ownership and disposition** of property;
—the **internationalization** of capital and its **movement** on a world scale;
—the new trends **in social policy** and **social security**, and so on.

We cannot advance if we have no contemporary analysis, contemporary postulate, or contemporary reply to these questions.

2. As is well known, we are in a new situation, one in which we are also examining the problems of contemporary socialism.

There is no need to describe this situation in detail.

—For a long time, socialism's development was connected with the production forces and mechanisms of economic management, which led to difficulties of an economic, social, ideological, and political nature.

The experience of the socialist countries showed that **production relations cannot outstrip the forces of production.** The former exert an immense influence on the development of the latter. It is absurd to imagine that they can outstrip the forces of production and automatically ensure the progress of the latter. This idea would create difficulties and delusions.

—It is now clear that socialist property must be regarded as single and indivisible, that it cannot be artificially divided into state, cooperative, and other forms. It is quite another issue whether there should be a great variety of forms for management of this property.

This relates to matters that are not fortuitous. Unfortunately, these issues are much more serious and profound, because they are connected with the very genesis of socialism.

—I am referring to the fact that at the beginning, from the very victory of the socialist revolution, a number of preconditions were created in socialist society—as the world reality that we now know—which, after a time, could not fail to lead to the present negative phenomena.

—In the final reckoning, all this is connected with both our theoretical postulates and the genesis of Marxism itself.

3. What conclusion of the most general nature and most general significance can we reach? What have we derived from our experience, and what is the main thing for us now?

We have reached the conclusion that the so-called Marxist political economy of socialism and contemporary capitalism is in a state of crisis.

—Of course, we have no intention of laying down the law in regard to theory.

—However, as a party that bears both the theoretical and practical responsibility for the cause of socialism in Bulgaria, **we cannot fail** to analyze the **reasons** for the above phenomena.

We cannot fail to realize that neither Marx, nor Engels, nor Lenin created the political economy of socialism. **They did not create it and did not have any possibility of creating it, for understandable reasons.** What we called the political economy of socialism over many years was based on **unscientific foundations.**

—The more clearly we realize this, the more quickly we will "purge" ourselves from the dogmas and advance along the broad path of restructuring.

I am convinced that you will support me when I say that in looking at the theory and practice of socialism from this point of view, along more general lines, it will turn out that other postulates ... need such reevaluations as well.

—Is it not true that we encounter such dogmas in the sphere of the **political superstructure,** in the sphere of the **functioning of the social system of socialism**, and in the **ideological** sphere?

Hence, the necessity of reevaluating certain postulates in the philosophy and theory of scientific socialism, as well as in the economic sciences and in the law.

Presumably, there are also subjects for reevaluation in the field of the creative arts and in other spheres of intellectual life in our society.

Let us examine the specific problems that are now of priority importance and require solutions.

First. We cannot mark any progress, much less restructure ourselves, unless we fully accomplish our historical development as a country and as a society.

—We know from history that no people whatsoever has been able to escape the logic of historical development and human civilization—both from the material and intellectual points of view.

—Marx stated that in order to become prosperous, a nation should repeat in one or another form the experience of other countries that are advanced in their development.

This postulate also applies to our own development. The fact that it was underestimated in the past caused numerous difficulties.

Yes, we have to accomplish our development.

Of course, this does not mean that we should repeat the development of capitalism with its peculiar features, contradictions, and cataclysms. We are well aware of the fact that this path was literally sown with cataclysms.

—We are not closing our eyes to the serious problems in the capitalist world even today.

The main task for us—this is to "repeat," within the shortest historical period possible, those achievements of human civilization that represent the universal experience of mankind, developed by the contempoary world, without which progress would be unthinkable.

Everything else would be an illusion, the cost of which is well known to us.

The new historical essence in itself is not a specific characteristic feature or a privilege of the Western countries alone. It is a universal human phenomenon—a higher, new stage in the development of our civilization.

Under the aspect of practical experience, the task of all tasks is: **to implement the contemporary historical essence of the world under the conditions existing in our country.**

—This applies with particular emphasis to the requirements of building a **material-technical base**, relying on the achievements of the **scientific-technical revolution** regardless of where they come from—from the capitalist or from our countries.

The same applies to the requirement of borrowing everything that is rational in **the organization, criteria of labor, and in the economic mechanism.**

As we see, the real problem today is that we should no longer move in a vicious circle of outdated theses producing no less dangerous antitheses, whose outcome is unforeseeable, but use every positive thing that is borrowed from the advanced countries in a dialectically "adapted" manner.

This means that we should make our contribution to the construction of contemporary civilization.

Second. Today it is necessary today to discuss certain aspects of the former postulates on the stages in the development of our socialist society.

This question should not be resolved in advance. It requires scientific research and discussions.

As is known, I have discussed developed socialist society and its construction as an immediate historical task on several occasions.

—Now, I think that we should revise this postulate.

Why?

Because, if we take into consideration the present state of socialism in our country—and not only in our country—and compare it with the new historical essence of the world, we realize that we are only in the initial stages of building our new society.

—It is known that several tasks of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism were **resolved** in our country a long time ago. This is one of the **historically important results** of building our new society.

—At the same time, in regard to the main and decisive aspect—the stage of development of productive forces and of the respective production relations—we are building the foundations of socialism.

It is from such positions that we must determine the main and new factors in the stage that we must pass.

—Obviously, we must **relinquish the formula of the developed socialist society.**

—At the July plenum we worked out the premise for a **new model** of our socialist society.

—The July model is a model of socialism and not a model of the next phase— communism—nor a model of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

—This is a model of the socialist society that is developing in accordance with its inherent natural laws and principles.

Against this background, the task now is to specify the meaning of this stage:
—in developing the production forces and production relations;
—in the functioning of our social system;
—in renewing the superstructure of intellectual life;
—and its meaning for the party and the other subjective factor units.

I shall stress this again: These are issues that must be discussed.

Third. The issue of the party is an outstanding one.

Our present premise is well known: The party is not a "story" in the system of state power. We shall consistently implement this premise.

Now it is especially necessary:
—to restructure the party internally;
—to restructure its leading organs and units;
—to restructure the Communists;
—to go where the people are;
—to overcome manifestations of high-handed elitism, careerism, and duplicity.

It is necessary to take a stand on some issues of a principled character.

One of them is the issue of the **party program and its statute.**

In this case we must note two circumstances.

The first is that we, and not only we, are advancing toward a **new premise** on the Communist Party's place and role.

—It will use new means and methods in implementing its policy, including directive decisions and documents, not as has been the case previously.

In its **sociopolitical essence**, our society is a socialist one, and **it develops and functions** in accordance with new **principles.**

—The main thing under these conditions is to now create scientific **forecasts, the general prospects, and plans** for developing society by the appropriate **governmental organs.**

The second circumstance relates to the functioning of our social system.

In this aspect we shall increase the role of the **Constitution** and the **legal system.**

Does this mean that there is no longer any need to formulate party policy and that party policy will no longer represent the content of state policy?

Of course not.

The goals and general directions of our society will continue to be determined in accordance with party policy.

—However, we must understand that at present **we are not ready** to work out and propose a **new party program,** and that we are not ready to write the **history of the BCP** in the near future.

—For this, there are many issues we need to research, and we must be more specific about our visions on the stages of the development of our society, the development of the party, and so forth.

On the other hand, the party, as a political organism, develops and functions in the name of certain goals and in accordance with its **statute.**

The role and importance of the statute **must increase** in the future.

—In this area we can and must **implement the necessary preparations** and introduce the necessary changes at the forthcoming **14th BCP Congress.**

—This refers, for example, to the **place** of the party in the political system, the **structure** of its leading organs, the **mandate principle,** and so forth.

As far as the working out of the party **political position** in certain **periods** or in relation to certain **events and processes** is concerned, this is the task of the party congresses and the **resolutions** they will adopt.

Fourth. Undoubtedly, the issue of legal reform is one of the fundamental issues of restructuring.

Our position on this issue is categorical—**there can be no restructuring outside or above the law.** Nobody in the People's Republic of Bulgaria can be above the law. This applies to the party, the Central Committee, and the Politburo. At the December plenum we decided that in cases of violations, the court can and must revoke party decisions.

—Of course, this means that the present deformations in the judicial practice must be decisively stopped.

—The court cannot be above the law either, cannot circumvent the law, and certainly cannot act against the laws.

While solving the issues of the legal superstructure, we note that we find ourselves in a period of constant movement and the search for new factors, and that we do not yet have sufficiently clear visions.

—We also note the international experience that is created in the fraternal countries, above all in the USSR.

—As you know, major reforms in the political system and the basic laws are taking place in the USSR.

In our country, the forthcoming tasks in this area are connected first of all with **amendments and addenda to the Constitution.**

A broad range of issues will be regulated by these amendments and addenda:
—the structure and functions of the state organs;
—mutual relations between the organs of state power and organs of state administration;
—the way in which the municipalities function, the activity of the law-enforcing organs, and so forth.

The main task in the future will be **to create guarantees and protective mechanisms** to ensure that laws are observed by all means, that decisions of the state and party organs are coordinated with the law, and that nobody can violate the law with impunity.

The development and further functioning of the legal superstructure must be fully applied in the structure and activity **of our supreme organ of government—the National Assembly.**

—We have historical traditions in constructing our National Assembly that take into consideration our country's national characteristics and territorial division.

—While obviously, these traditions must be preserved, we must also note the contemporary realities.

At the same time, the National Assembly must increasingly relieve itself of signs and manifestations of "formal" democracy and representation **and truly turn into a working corporation.**

—The activity of the National Assembly commissions must acquire new contents. They are already functioning as "small parliaments."

—Thus they have a great future, more specifically as permanently functioning organs for discussing the issues and exercising parliamentary control over all areas of public life.

—It would be purposeful to solve many other issues related to restructuring our highest organ.

—In this context it is necessary to accelerate the work related to amending **the country's Law on Elections.**

—We have already accumulated positive experience in conducting elections under conditions of competition between candidates. Now we must incorporate this experience in the legal order.

Fifth. The other issue relates to perfecting distribution relations.

First of all we must recall what is fundamental to us Marxists-Leninists:

—Under socialism, there is not and cannot be any other understanding of social equality and justice other than equality based on distribution in accordance with labor's quantity and quality.

Certain negative tendencies in implementing this principle emerged in our society.

The results are well known.

—Leveling down in income distribution became a brake on labor motivation.

—In the minds of many people, there is still a mentality that prevents them from accepting a stratification of the population on the basis of the people's income, and stubbornly imposes psychological norms aimed at preventing higher labor remuneration.

—At the same time, a substantial sector of workers still receive wages that are lower than average for the country, and only a small number of them belong to the higher wage group.

We must admit **that until now, unjustifiably little attention was paid to studying the income and, generally, property differentiation of the population under socialism.** However, this is one of the most important characteristics of social relations.

Until now, the goal was to sharply decrease the property differences between the members of the socialist society and narrow the framework of differentiation.

In the final account, this leads to alienation from labor, social deformations, and the establishment of an alien model of social justice and social inequality in our society.

After everything that has been said, one could logically ask: **Do we need a differentiation of labor income?**

If we want to decisively restore the only correct principle of distribution according to labor, we will not be able to avoid a growth in differentiation; on the contrary, we must stimulate it.

—At the same time, we must **clarify the economic essence of income differentiation,** as well as its formation under the influence of of the increasing role of the labor contribution.

—At the same time, stratification on the basis of income is socially justified only when it is based on distribution in accordance with labor.

Of course, this process will develop under conditions of socialism and will naturally be regulated in the appropriate manner. We shall not allow either class stratification or the emergence of social parasitism. Our country has sufficiently powerful levers to prevent such deformations.

And another thing.

—The "summit" must be occupied by those work best, and in accordance with the world standard of profitability and productivity. These are the direct workers, those with initiative and enterprise, the creators of the scientific-technical and cultural progress.

—This will also be the source of basic difficulties.

—Because anonymity is abolished in the assessment of the work of every employee on the basis of labor quality and quantity.

—Because this means liquidating all deformations which, to a certain degree, characterize our present social stratification.

New problems **of a political nature** will also emerge, because the new situation will create conditions for expanding diversity in the people's interests, the pluralism of opinions, glasnost, and so forth.

—We take all this into account and will do everything possible to expand these processes.

From what has been said so far, it is obvious that many new problems will acquire prime importance.

—These are problems that **must pass through the purgatory of theory, social thought, and the creative laboratory of science, the arts, and literature.**

—We cannot mark progress in restructuring, radicalize it, and give it the necessary scope if we do not correctly illuminate the aforementioned issues.

Therefore, the role of our intelligentsia is now growing.

— We, the BCP Central Committee, do not pose ourselves the task of exhausting all issues. This is not our task.

—This task must be implemented by **scientific thought,** and by **our scientists** and **cultural figures.**

In this enterprise we shall continue to rely on the **veterans,** who were mainly responsible for implementing the April line in the intellectual sphere and made their decisive contribution to the intellectual ascent of the Bulgarian nation, and to asserting the authority of Bulgarian science and culture beyond our country's borders.

At the same time, by mobilizing the intellectual potential of the contemporary generations of scientists and artistic creators to the maximum extent, we must by all means attract to our cause new intellectuals, born in the revolutionary renewal, because the future belongs to them.

Therefore we need **new forces and reinforcements, and young blood.**

—We must implement such a change on the basis of **unity and continuity** between the generations in the areas of philosophy, scientific socialism, economic science, literature, arts, and education.

As far as society is involved, it will create all the material and intellectual preconditions for developing the forces of the intellectual area.

—Now it is especially important to eliminate the burden of those ideological prejudices and stereotypes that have kept us attached to the dogmas and prevented us from seeking the truth.

—We are already implementing this in our theoretical and practical activity.

It is necessary to conduct discussions.

—Our society need new and fresh ideas, a creative renewal of Marxist-Leninist thought, and new artistic discoveries.

—There are not and cannot be any barriers in the process of seeking the great truths and implementing great breakthroughs.

—Now it is especially important to address the issues and theses developed in the July Concept and the decisions of the December plenum.

—Our premise in this area is clear: Let there be disputes, let there be different or even alternative visions, let even the July Concept itself be disputed.

I would like to especially stress that we do not divide issues into "banned" and "free" areas. The truth is the only criterion in the area of scientific and artistic research.

—This is our premise about the past, present, and future.

There was a time when the party and state organs were slaves of certain prejudices and excessive secrecy in the area of information.

We are overcoming these prejudices.

—Furthermore, we are adopting measures related to **overcoming every manifestation of extreme conservatism,** ensuring normal information processes in society, opening up archives, and, in a word—**ensuring broad glasnost.**

—There can be no doubt that this will favorably affect the work of creative people in the intellectual sphere:
—our scientists;
—journalists;
—creative artists;
—teachers, and so forth.

What do I mean?

—The information and data that will be classified as state secrets in the future will be limited to a minimum.

—Our journalists will have access to information related to an ever growing circle of facts and processes of public interest.

—A national system of information services for Bulgarian and foreign journalists is being developed.

—A national press center and the institutions of government spokesman, National Assembly spokesman, and spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are being created.

—The state, economic, and public organs will also have spokesmen.

—Measures have been adopted to provide information services for journalists, scientists, public figures, and other figures in the municipalities and oblasts.

Obviously, all those for whom this information is not professionally needed will also benefit.

—This will be exceptionally beneficial for our entire society, because more information also means more responsibility, control, and awareness.

There are not and cannot be banned "zones" or "territories" for the mass media. We are generally interested in increasing their constructive and creative role in civil society.

The process of constructing a new information culture will most actively incorporate the party and state leadership at all levels.

—Meetings of chief editors and the secretaries of the primary party organizations of the mass media with members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, BCP Central Committee secretaries, ministers, and other party and state leaders will begin to be **systematically** organized for the purpose of exchanging information related to important and topical issues.

—Whenever necessary and at the initiative of the mass media, the party and state leaders will publish **articles, interviews, and lectures** in the press, radio, and television.

—This will become the style of work, one of the characteristics of the party and state figure of the new type. He must directly participate in the dialogue with the people and the nation, and defend his opinions and decisions.

All this is just a part of our effort to change the **information culture** of our society, pose the issues in a really open manner, and publicly discuss them.

—Without such an approach, our aim to construct a civil society of the socialist variety will be nipped in the bud.

Along with enhancing the care for all figures of intellectual life, we shall also implement important measures related to developing and promoting young intellectual cadres.

—We shall broadly advance toward **stimulating young talent,** creating a new atmosphere for their **creative development** in our country and abroad, boldly **promoting young cadres** in the leaderships of all spheres, promptly awarding academic ranks to scientific workers, and so forth.

—We have already advanced toward solving the most pressing issues of **wages** and ensuring the necessary **material conditions of everyday life.**

—We attribute special importance to the idea of forming **special funds** by which we shall create more favorable conditions for working and creating.

—We shall continue the efforts to assert a most favorable creative atmosphere, and **overcome the abnormal situation according to which in many places the young cadres are kept under cover** and **manipulated,** and thus **led away** from the moral, political, and intellectual points of view.

Cardinal changes must be implemented with a view toward solving these and similar problems, on which the future of our science, culture, and intelligentsia depends. These changes will take place:
—in the leadership and organization of intellectual life;
—in the BCP Central Committee;
—in the organs of the Council of Ministers, as well as in the public and other organizations.

Our society disposes of all necessary resources for achieving such a turning point.

We shall achieve this turning point.

At the same time, in setting such a task for ourselves, we must pursue our possibilities, high ambitions, and traditions, and bring our Bulgarian socialist intelligentsia to a new, qualitatively new summit: turning intellectual values created in our country into a worthy contribution to modern civilization.

Perhaps some comrades will be confused by such an appeal.

—They could ask: Are we now outside the orbit of modern civilization?

—Does not everything that we created during the years of socialism represent a contribution to this civilization?

Many questions could be asked in this area, and they would be justifiable questions.

—It would be justifiable to recall **our real contribution to world civilization** from ancient times until the new era.

—It would also be justifiable to recall that **many of our achievements in the areas of science and technology, literature, and arts have more than national importance.**

—It would also be justifiable to say that **modern civilization is unthinkable without socialism.**

All this is correct and true.

—**However, it would also be correct to point out that in many decisive areas we face the task of raising our science and culture, and our entire intellectual life, to a new level.**

—I mean a turning point that will lead us to new positions in our entire intellectual life.

Will this be easy? No, this will by no means be easy. However, we must achieve it and turn it into the thought and cause, the cause and thought, of our intelligentsia.

I think that the entire restructuring of the intellectual sphere must take place under this sign. The **congresses of science, artistic culture, and education** must take place in this spirit.

Now, as well known, we are discussing concepts of restructuring various sectors of intellectual life.

—Great work has been done. Lively discussions are taking place in the scientific and cultural circles in a spirit of responsibility. Our scientific and cultural figures are demonstrating their adherence to the great cause we have undertaken.

—We must thank them for all this.

Recently, we, the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, discussed the issue of what essence these concepts must have, and how we must approach the forthcoming congresses.

—We received many letters from scientific and cultural figures, in which they presented their opinions.

As a result of this, we developed the following idea: **Would it not be better not to be hasty in adopting the concepts that have been worked out, but rather allow the possibility of even more broadly continuing the discussion of these concepts by the scientific and creative organizations themselves?**

—In this case, without postponing the congresses, they must concentrate attention on the cardinal issue of raising the level of intellectual life. Thus, they will play an **important part** in this discussion and in the process of restructuring in general.

On this basis, we shall continue to work out the concepts after the congresses, and will **gradually** advance toward constructing the organizations dealing with ideas—including the publishing houses—restructuring the creative and scientific unions, better implementing the integration processes between various areas of intellectual life, and so forth.

This is the proposal that was formed in the Politburo.

It is understandable that the new premises on restructuring the intellectual sphere excite our intelligentsia.

—This excitement is related to the very development of the intellectual sphere and the future of Bulgarian science, culture, and education.

—This is constructive excitement, and our party relies on it.

The task, as pointed out by the December plenum, is **to change the system,** so that it starts to work for those without whom our society's intellectual life would be doomed to stagnation. In this area, it is especially important to eliminate any **monopoly** wherever one has asserted itself. In the final account, many of the negative phenomena we are yet to overcome have been produced by monopoly.

The publishing houses are one of the means of changing things.

It must be stressed that the establishment of the publishing houses will not only evoke many questions.

—This will be a relatively **long process,** which must be implemented with **the participation of the creative people themselves.**

The main thing is to use the publishing houses and other forms of cultural life in order to set our entire intellectual sphere in motion to an **unprecedented extent.** Our forms of cultural life must develop from a creative point of view, and encompass publishing houses, magazines, **and anything else** in the name of developing Bulgarian culture.

Comrades,

This is one of the issues the Politburo would like to discuss with you. As you can see, it is a strategic issue that is worthy of the name and vocation of the Bulgarian intellectual.

Now there is no goal that can inspire and mobilize our entire intelligentsia like the goal of raising our intellectual life to the level of the goal posed by the July Concept.

However, we must proceed even further if we want to solve this task: **We must increase the role of the intelligentsia and lead it to new political, social, and intellectual positions.**

In short, in this area as well, we must achieve a turning point that is unprecedented in our entire socialist development.

—Obviously, this turning point will amount to a new cultural revolution in our country.

It is clear that such a turning point cannot be implemented if we remain in the sphere of verbally heralding the new role of the intelligentsia. Changes are needed:

—in the structural, economic, political, and social mechanisms;

—in the party and state organs' methods of work;

—and in the conditions under which the intelligentsia implements its role in discussing and working out the problems of our society.

If we wanted to generalize, we could say the following: **We shall achieve all this by transferring great power to the intelligentsia and its units and organizations.**

—If the intelligentsia is changing its social status and increasing its role, we must do everything possible to ensure broad possibilities for it to develop as **the strike force** of restructuring.

The issue boils down to restructuring our entire social system.

What is the philosophy that, so to speak, guides everything that we are doing?

On the one hand, we are constructing **a new type of social structure** by comprehensively applying the principle of self-management. I mean self-managing **social communities** in the material and intellectual spheres, as well as in the territories.

—I mean not only changes in the system of management, but a profound turning point in the organization of our social system.

On the other hand, the new and main element consists of the fact that for the first time we are engaging in a general solution of the question of creating self-regulating systems under the conditions of self-management.

—So far, this reform has only been announced in theory. This particular reform, however, is the key to everything that resulted from the July Plenum Concept.

—For a long time, we were actually slaves to the idea that the organization of social life under socialism depends upon the role of the party and state.

The recent July and December plenums, however, placed things in their true context.

How can we describe the main and decisive factor in this context?

The main and decisive factor is: The new type of social structures—embodied by the self-managing communities—will have rights, responsibilities, and obligations according to which the social pyramid will be totally changed. This will be a fundamental and revolutionary change, as a matter of fact.

—The innovation consists of **transferring the basic power and its functions** to the self-managing communities.

—As a result, the self-managing communities will become **agents of great power**, agents which will direct and exercise power.

In addition, the social communities precisely represent the units of our social system in which people are resolving their basic, economic, social, political, and cultural problems.

—Correct functioning of society means expanding the activities of self-managing social communities.

—In these circumstances, no other "centers" or "units" entitled to deal with the aforementioned questions should exist.

From this point of view, we submitted the postulate that neither the state, the party, nor any other force should be placed above society and the self-managing communities.

Let us take the question of the state, in particular.

The postulate of the classic authors of Marxism on this subject is well known. According to them, the state should wither away at a certain point.

In this case, the issue of the state withering away is not a topical one at the present stage of our development. Conditions for this are not ripe.

—The problem that is emerging in the process of restructuring in our country is the fact that the state cannot be an alien force that opposes the civic society and the people's social communities.

—Engels and Lenin stressed that the socialist state, ceasing to be an alien force in its relations with society, begins to wither away as early as at the stage of socialist revolution. They called it a "state withering away."

We are following a similar trend in the course of restructuring today.

—The task is to restructure society and the state functions in such a way that the state may no longer be a force placed **above** society and **above** its social communities.

In this context, we reached the conclusion that the state should be integrated into the mechanism of society as a whole and in the functioning of its individual social structures.

—In doing so, our state is becoming a state of socialist self-managing societies.

—In implementing this principle, each of us will be able to say: "We are the state."

As we see at the present stage, our postulate is entirely new. This is the postulate of organically integrating the state into the social organism. In this connection, the role of the state in the operation of this organism is new.

It is on this basis that we raised and are now dealing with the question of overcoming the command-administrative system and bureaucratic methods in the management and functioning of society.

From this position, we would like to assert and develop **the new role of the intelligentsia** in our social life.

Obviously, this role cannot be restricted to the framework of intellectual life alone. **The intelligentsia—with its creative spirit and vigilant consciousness, with its direct contribution to the solution of problems—will be present in all spheres and in all matters.** Its voice should be heard in all initiatives and all activities.

Comrades, in connection with the aforementioned facts, we should take into consideration the new conditions under which we are working.

We have every reason to say: **We are entering a period that will be complicated from the political and ideological points of view.** We are talking about a period in which not only the **permanent, traditional values** of our socialist society will be tested, but also the **intentions and ideas** of restructuring.

—Such periods also existed in the past. However, we cannot make any comparisons. We cannot apply the same approach in this respect.

This applies to the situation of the 1956 April plenum in particular. Many things we accomplished in 1956 were useful and can now serve as historical lessons and forms of experience. Nevertheless, the present situation is quite different. It requires different postulates and methods of work.

Why is this so? It is because basically new factors operate today, most of which cannot be compared with those of the past.

How can we describe these factors?

The first factor is related to the fundamental and complicated restructuring processes that are reflected in all social groups, and in addition, are exerting a manysided effect.

—These processes are reflected in the intelligentsia as well, causing essential changes in the awareness and world outlook of the intellectuals, stimulating their spontaneous aspirations to actively participate in all innovative processes.

—Unfortunately, we are not yet sufficiently familiar with the substance of these changes. They are sometimes contradictory, while some members of the intelligentsia in many cases even adopt extreme views and positions.

—We need an optimal realistic approach, which should take into account the fact that in such periods of radical change, the aforementioned phenomena are quite natural.

What practical conclusion can and should be drawn from all this? There should be no doubt about the main conclusion to be drawn in this respect: The requirement to adopt **new approaches and new methods** of work, and that **we should by no means be slaves** to the views and postulates of the past.

The second factor is related to the circumstance that restructuring in the economic sector, where it is being extensively applied, requires an intensified reform of the political superstructure. However, this reform should no longer be only a structural one, as in the past, but a reform from the point of view of democratization in our lives.

—This process cannot be accomplished by half-measures. It is inevitable regardless of the level reached in our economic development.

—Nevertheless, even in this sector, we should not admit any kind of voluntarism. At the same time, we should not postpone the solution of various urgent problems.

We have the advantage of having developed original postulates of democratization, pluralism, and glasnost at the July plenum and during the period following it, which certainly facilitates our work in this respect. These postulates should now be further summed up and implemented in practical experience.

What should be done in this respect? **It is necessary for us to find the same appropriate and vital solutions for the intellectual and cultural sphere as we found for the economic sector through the decisions adopted at the December plenum.**

—This means that we should go back to a series of **basic postulates** on civic society; on territorial, social communities; self-management; and so forth.

—This also means that we should implement several practical **innovations** likely to shake up and transform numerous cliches accumulated from the past.

This is the basic aspect of the question discussed.

As for the specific state of affairs in this respect, we should realize that certain negative phenomena exist in connection with the intelligentsia today.

—Today certain outdated **structures and mechanisms** exist in the intellectual sphere which represent a source of **decay** [zagnivane].

—Under these circumstances, not only did manifestations of apathy become possible, but there was alienation from the organs of power and from the values of socialism.

The third factor is the so-called external one.

This factor is just being introduced into the everyday experience of restructuring, in the people's lives and awareness. We are consciously and scientifically promoting its broad expansion in our country. Along with this, we realize that in addition to the positive effect of this action, which is the most important one, we should take into consideration the difficulties we encounter in this respect. It is very important that we radically revise many of our past views and approaches.

—We have in mind **foreign economic cooperation** with developed Western countries, above all. It is evident that a great number of political and ideological questions will emerge in this connection, and we should take these into account.

—The Vienna meeting actually confronted us with a new situation.

—We not only welcome, but we will implement the agreements reached at this meeting.

—Along with this, we cannot fail to realize that certain forces existing in our country and abroad will try to take advantage of the Vienna document for their selfish, political goals.

All this requires us to promptly establish the necessary organization, and prepare respective postulates and practical methods of work in this respect, including changes in our legislation.

In speaking about the **external factor** we should realize the following facts:

—The anti-Bulgarian campaign that is being promoted by certain Western ideological centers.

—The impression is created that these centers are **coordinating** their activities and consistently promoting the well-known strategy of discrediting Bulgaria as a country in which the democratic process is allegedly not being developed.

Can we describe in which directions we should expand our activities with new methods and a new approach to work, and without delay?

I would like to dwell on the **political aspect** of this question.

It is above all the new social status of the intelligentsia and its decisive role in the intellectualization of social life that make it necessary to adopt a new postulate on the party and on its composition.

The participation of the most distinguished representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia in the supreme organs of the party and country is a well-deserved privilege.

Along with this, the party should open its doors even more widely to members of the intelligentsia.

—A new solution will be provided for this question in connection with the amendments to the Party Statute.

—This new solution will also be taken into consideration in establishing the composition of the BCP Central Committee and its organs.

Similar measures should also presumably be adopted in connection with other political structures.

We are currently engaging in a discussion about the perfection of our parliamentary system, which should increasingly take into account the social and professional interests of the population, including those of our intelligentsia.
—We are reviewing the opportunities for intellectuals to participate in the "small parliaments" of the National Assembly.
—It would also be appropriate to establish temporary commissions made up of intellectuals on a voluntary basis in discussing important draft laws.
—According to the same principle, scientific and cultural figures should be involved in the work of oblast and municipal councils.

I would like to dwell in particular upon the idea of establishing a committee attached to the Fatherland Front National Council in which the BCP, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], social organizations, religious communities, and others should participate.

—This will represent an essentially new type of **political structure** actually established on a **coalition basis.**

- Similar structures will also be created on an **oblast** and **municipal** basis.

—The participants in such structures will work in a way that is likely to implement **socialist pluralism** of interests and opinions.

—**Associations** which represent **alternative views** within the framework of the constitutional system may participate in such structures.

It would not be wrong to say that through restructuring we are advancing toward a new type of democracy. We are promoting development on a much broader basis.

—This type of democracy does not come out of the blue. It is backed by our history, and especially by our history as a socialist state.

—In our country, we have preserved and are further promoting **political structures** which play a natural role in our development.

The BZNS is an example of this. Its history and its present development, its contribution to the construction of socialism in Bulgaria, are worth mentioning. The BZNS is a **ruling party**, together with the BCP. It occupies 25 percent of the parliament seats, 40 percent of the ministerial posts, and hundreds of leading positions at the oblast and municipal level. Over 150,000 workers of socialism are members of the BZNS.

This is how we intend to proceed toward democracy, which is the mode of existence for a civic society of the socialist type.

—It is under the conditions of this type of democracy that our society will function on the basis of the law while fully observing the citizens' rights, freedoms, and interests.

This type of democracy inspires and elevates man—both as a private individual and as a citizen in the civic sense of this term.

In this respect, we greatly rely on the development of **social organizations and movements,** a problem that was extensively discussed at the BCP Central Committee December plenum.

Figuratively speaking, we can say that this is the "second nature" of society.

Social associations play a role of essential importance in this respect. They are based on people's interests. The intellectual wealth of a society is determined by the successful development of each individual.

The intellectual wealth of a personality is determined by the successful self-fulfillment of all other individuals.

Such associations also represent the "second nature" of society, because an entire spectrum of constructive forces and opportunities for society is being implemented through them.

We realize that the new forms of democratization are not sufficiently developed. However, this is a process that will increasingly determine restructuring in the political system.

If it is true that democratization today does not fully reveal all its possibilities, the reason is that the construction of self-managing communities has not yet been completed.

—Numerous normative problems are still unresolved or have been only temporarily resolved.

—There is a lack of sufficient experience. Inertia is an obstacle.

The respective state organs are also creating difficulties.

—Their activities are mainly reduced to representative functions and the implementation of routine operations, as has been the case for the last 15-20-30 years.

—The solution of numerous important problems has been neither initiated, nor completed.

—Passive attitudes were manifested in relation to certain negative signs, which resulted in violation of laws, and in a deterioration of the labor and political atmosphere in numerous institutions.

—Under these circumstances, every "delicate question" is transferred to the BCP Central Committee, whose members are forced to deal with irrelevant problems.

Another sector on which we should concentrate is party work and the state of the ideological system.

Numerous party units are in a poor condition. In many party organizations the necessary organizational-political activities are not implemented and individual work with people is neglected. Many party members and leading cadres have lost their communist virtues altogether.

What is the way out of this situation? The way out is that renewal is required in both directions.

—Vigorous and active new forces are required today.

—These forces should develop specific activities among the intelligentsia.

—It is particularly important to "open" wide the doors of the BCP Central Committee departments and of other party organs to rank-and-file scientific and cultural workers.

—Meetings with groups of intellectuals should become regular working methods.

—An honest dialogue should be conducted with the intelligentsia on the subject of the contribution made by society to the intellectual sphere and the contribution of intellectuals to society.

Comrades, **some people have recently been asking about our position on so-called political pluralism.**

—We have already proclaimed pluralism as one of the principles of our society. Since different opinions and interests exist, pluralism will also exist.

—In this context, we are talking about political pluralism. Why? Because the BCP, the BZNS, social organizations, and others exist in our country which are implementing their own policy in the respective spheres. Another question is the fact that they have all adopted the positions of socialism and are trying to implement its principles.

The attitude toward one or another formation that may emerge in connection with discussion of the problems of our social life should be determined from this point of view.

As has been stressed on other occasions, we are simply interested in this. There is no doubt at all that in the future, such associations or clubs will sprout like mushrooms after the rain in our country. They will be supported and encouraged by both the party and the state.

What is the thing on which we cannot agree? I think that in the spirit of the broad glasnost we are implementing, in the spirit of democracy, it would be correct to frankly explain the reasons for our disagreement.

—One aspect—the formal aspect of the question—is that in the spirit of the Constitutions and the laws of our country, this kind of association cannot be founded if it is not registered according to the existing rules.

—This is the case in every civilized state. Nowhere in the world would associations that are, so to speak, "registered" with foreign radio stations be considered legal.

—The other aspect of the question is that real democracy, humanitarianism, and moral principles are incompatible with attempts to disseminate political intrigues, fan hostility among people, and so forth.

It is obvious that not only normal political experience, but the elementary rules of human relations as well, require that such attempts be stopped.

We do not have any intention of abolishing the class principle in our country, all the more so since living representatives of the overthrown classes, who have not forgotten their past privileges, still exist in our country..

We will continue to unmask the efforts of those who, basing themselves on gross class interests, are using outdated stereotypes and approaches, those who rely on political outcasts and disgraced people in our country.

In this context, it is not a question of restricting democracy or not. The question does not apply to the existence or nonexistence of glasnost in our country. Our position is unequivocal. The question is to preserve our society from demagogy and political contamination, from a dehumanization of human relations.

We have already dealt with our attitude toward discussions and glasnost. Discussions and glasnost are sacred and immaculate values.

Let us establish clubs and associations in the spirit of open discussion and glasnost. We will support them and listen to them. We will welcome their assistance.

Patriotism, as well as affection and devotion for the Bulgarian motherland, are among the sacred virtues of the Bulgarian intelligentsia. This virtue is still a high criterion for the right and responsibility of belonging to the national intelligentsia today, a criterion for the creation of intellectual values in the country where one was born and raised, in which one lives and works.

There is no doubt that our intelligentsia today will reject with contempt and dignity all attempts to preach **national nihilism** and all negative attitudes toward the fatherland; toward socialism; toward our country's traditions; toward the Bulgarian people's moral standards; and toward all things sacred and honorable, which generations of our ancestors have created, and for which thousands of sons and daughters of Bulgaria sacrificed their lives.

Comrades, an important factor in implementing our intentions in restructuring is to guarantee tremendous social energy.

This is the goal toward which our efforts are aimed today. This is the core and essence of the decisions that were confirmed on a state level in the first days of 1989.

New thinking; new standards of social analysis; modern, skilled expert opinions; professionalism; a scientific approach; and a broad democratic spirit—this is what we need.

Last, but not least:

—We are waging a struggle for radical restructuring in our society.

—We are advancing in the right direction, and our progress is based on clear and irrefutable logic.

—We realize that the results we are expecting will neither be easy nor quick.

Our main task is to put all things in motion, and to even more resolutely strive for the sacred goal we have assigned ourselves—the qualitatively new reform of socialism in Bulgaria.

Never before have so many theoretical, organizational-practical, and ideological prerequisites for success existed in our country.

—These prerequisites are embodied in the **revolutionary essence of restructuring.**

Restructuring itself is a synthesis of all our talents and possibilities, related to profession, age, and personal qualities, aimed at one single goal:

—The future of our nation, the future of Bulgaria.

Plan Fulfillment Results for 1988 Published

AU0203060189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Feb 89 pp 1-3

["Announcement of the Central Statistical Administration on the Results of Fulfillment of the 1988 Uniform State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development"]

[Text] In 1987, the Uniform State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development was fulfilled under conditions of the practical implementation of the BCP's July strategy for restructuring in all spheres and activities of society.

The achievement of the tasks provided in the plan was accompanied by the growing number of difficulties of the most varied nature, including difficulties arising from the unfavorable weather conditions. Irrespective of this, the country's economy continued to develop at high and steady rates. The process of intensifying the progressive structural changes in the national economy and increasing the economy's socioeconomic efficiency continued. Conditions were created during the year for a consistent expansion of the great rights and responsibilities of the economic organizations and territorial communities.

I. General Economic Indices and Rates of Development of the National Economy

According to preliminary data, the results of the country's development in 1988 are characterized by the following basic indicators:

Indicators	1988 Report	1988 as percentage of 1987 (comparable prices)
Industrial goods output, million leva	48,902	105.1
Agricultural output, million leva	9,263	99.3
Aggregate profit (not including agricultural organizations), million leva	12,555	114.4

Indicators	1988 Report	1988 as percentage of 1987 (comparable prices)
Industrial goods output, million leva	48,902	105.1
Agricultural output, million leva	9,263	99.3
Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output, leva	62.65	97.3
Goods production for the internal market, million leva	15,517	106.1
Retail goods turnover, million leva	17,285	103.4
Services completed to the population, million leva	930	108.0
Foreign trade goods turnover, million convertible leva	28,174	101.1
Numbers of workers and employees in the national economy, thousands	4,103	99.9
Average pay of workers and employees in national economy, leva	2,953	105.0
Social consumption funds, million leva	8,720	105.0

The intensification of the economy continued. **The national income rose by about 6.2 percent as compared to 1987.** Higher rates of growth were achieved as compared to the first 2 years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan. In 1988 the rate of growth of **the produced national income** was 1.0 percentage point higher than the mean annual increase in the previous 2 years. During 1986-88, the average rate of growth was 5.6 percent, or 0.2 percentage points higher than that provided for in the Law on the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

Social labor productivity rose by about 6.5 percent as compared to 1987. The entire growth in national income was provided by the increase in social labor productivity.

Good results were achieved in 1988 in fulfilling the task relating to **resource-saving development** of our national economy. Prime cost per 100 leva of output in the national economy (not including the agricultural organizations) fell by 1.8 percent as compared with 1987, while material expenditure (not including depreciation) fell by 2.7 percent. The relative saving in material expenditure amounted to 1.1 billion leva. Relatively fewer resources were used for production output, namely: fuels, 2.3 million tonnes (nominal fuel); shaped timber materials, 79,000 cubic meters; and cement, 223,000 tonnes. Smaller amounts were used of rolled ferrous metals, ferrous metal products, rolled strip from nonferrous metals, liquid fuels, and other items.

The energy and metals content per 100 leva of national income fell by 5.9 and 3.0 percent respectively as compared to 1987. As a result of this and of the increased volume of production and sales, the aggregate profit in the national economy (not including the agricultural organizations) rose by 1.6 billion leva as compared to the previous year. **Profitability,** in terms of profit per 100 leva of production funds, rose by 5.6 percent.

Greater utilization and higher loading of production capacities were achieved. In the industrial enterprises with noncontinuous production processes, the shift index for machinery and equipment was 2.04 shifts per day.

The increase in production and the improvement in its structure promoted a further **intensification of our country's participation in the international division of labor,** primarily in the field of socialist economic integration. Direct economic links were expanded with enterprises and companies in the fraternal socialist countries and nonsocialist states. New enterprises and organizations for joint activities were set up.

Exports rose by 4.0 percent, and the structure of exports improved. The percentage share of machinery and equipment for production purposes in the total volume of exports reached 60.8 percent. Imports fell by 1.8 percent.

Alongside the positive results, certain weaknesses in economic activity were not overcome. Certain enterprises failed to fulfill the state orders placed with them, or to complete the production of basic raw and other materials provided for in the state plan. This hampered the mutual correlation [obvruzka] of important material balances, the activity of certain enterprises, and the supplies to the domestic market.

Irrespective of the comparatively high rate achieved in the production of goods and services, their volume, range, and quality still do not correspond to the population's monetary income and purchasing power. Because of the unsatisfactory work of certain economic trusts, the state plan's estimated figures for consumer goods production were not achieved.

The fulfillment of the investment program and the introduction of basic funds are not proceeding satisfactorily. Fewer housing units were constructed than planned.

Traditional weaknesses continued to show themselves in 1988 in a number of enterprises with regard to utilization of production capacities, efficient and rational use of the work force, and the maintenance of labor, technological, contractual, plan, and financial discipline. Certain economic organizations showed tendencies to unjustifiably raise the prices of new and improved articles produced by them, for which penalties laid down in the normative documents, to the amount of 5.5 million leva, were imposed on them by the state organs.

II. Structural and Technological Reorganization of the National Economy

As a result of the increasingly wide introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in 1988, **progressive changes continued to intensify in the economy, and the structure of the production forces continued to improve.**

17.9 percent. The share of the "Electronics," "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry," "Heavy Machine Building," and "Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment" complexes in the total industrial production reached 39.3 percent.

A total of 2.7 billion leva of capital investments were used for technical reequipment and reconstruction of the existing production capacities, which was 30.7 percent more than in 1987. The share of machines and equipment in the total volume of capital investments reached 44.3 percent, compared to 41.9 percent in the previous year.

There was an increase in the plant inventory relating to automated means of production. The national economy received 465 new mechanized and automated processing lines, 162 automated control systems for technological processes, 1,702 systems for automatic control of process parameters, 95 automated data processing systems, etc. During the year, the available computer equipment increased by 46.6 percent, while the numbers of personal computers alone rose by 48.4 percent.

Over 12,800 tasks relating to the **creation of new technologies and products** were completed in 1988. Of these, 1,377 were in the "Electronics" complex, 1,652 in the "Heavy Machine Building" complex, and 1,014 in the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" complex.

Technological reequipment of the economy continued. During the year, 6,590 new and improved technologies and 5,583 new and improved products were introduced.

Additional profits of 582 million leva were obtained from sales of updated products.

Conditions were created for further **improving the product structure of industrial production** and increasing the production of highly efficient products and systems with a high scientific content. The share of updated products rose from 9.3 percent in 1987 to 10.6 percent in 1988. The following complexes made the greatest contributions to the renewal of production: the "Electronics" complex, in which 29.9 percent of product output consisted of new and improved products; "Heavy Machine Building"—22.7 percent; "Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment"—22.4 percent; and the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" complex—13.4 percent.

Greater and more purposeful efforts were made to **improve the quality and competitiveness of manufactured products.** The state mark of quality was awarded to 38.1 percent more manufactured industrial goods than in 1987. The greatest increases were in the following complexes: "Electronics" (240 percent), "Construction and Building Industry" (60.2 percent), "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" (46.2 percent), and "Heavy Machine Building" (21.7 percent).

There was a rise in the numbers of small and medium-sized enterprises, and the volume of their production output also increased.

However, alongside the achievements, certain tasks from the annual state plan, relating to the creation of scientific products and the introduction of new technologies and products, were not fulfilled. A number of economic organizations failed to devote sufficient attention and means to introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress more widely into practice, improving technologies and production quality, and raising the efficiency of their production activity. Manufacture of low-quality products was permitted. There was an increase in the quantities of industrial products against which claims were accepted or awarded.

III. Development of Material Production

The economic organizations in industry produced 2.4 billion leva more goods than in 1987. The production of new and improved products amounted to 5.2 billion leva. Aggregate profits of 8.4 billion leva were realized.

Social labor productivity in industry rose by 8.9 percent as compared to 1987, while production profitability increased by 4.4 percent. Prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 1.9 percent, and material expenditures (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output were reduced by 2.7 percent.

Additional profits of 480.5 million leva were realized as a result of technological renewal through the introduction of scientific and technical development projects in industry.

The principal results of the development of the production complexes in 1988 were as follows:

Production complexes	1988 as Percentage of 1987		
	produced output	net output	social labor productivity
Electronics	118.1	115.4	109.7
Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment	100.4	104.6	102.6
Heavy Machine Building	108.0	104.0	102.0
Biotechnological and Chemical Industry	105.0	117.7	113.8
Energy Industry	100.7	89.3	88.1
Construction and Building Industry	100.5	107.3	108.1
Industry for Man	104.0	103.9	103.6
Agro-Industrial (not including agricultural organizations)	103.3	111.5	110.7
Forest Industry	104.1	109.8	108.7

The "Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials" Complex increased production by 3.4 percent as compared to 1987 and reduced its losses by 46.4 percent.

Notwithstanding the good results achieved in industry, a number of organizations failed to fulfill their own plans.

Social labor productivity was lower than in 1987 in the enterprises of the following economic trusts: "Peripheral Equipment," "Motor Building," "Forging and Press Equipment," "Mineral Raw Materials," "Bulgartabak," "Bulgarsko Pivo," Rila," "Ruen," the "Sredets" Economic Combine, "Stil" Economic Trust, and others. In these and other trusts the relationship between the rises in social labor productivity and average wages was disrupted.

Material expenditures (not including depreciation) were higher than in 1987 in the enterprises of a considerable number of economic trusts, such as: "Microprocessor Systems," "Disk Memory Devices," "Everyday Electronics," "Forging and Press Equipment," "Motor Building," "Transport Electronics and Electrical Engineering," the "Poultry and Egg Production and Processing" Economic Combine, "Vikhren" Economic Combine, "Stil" Economic Trust, and others.

Positive changes continued in the territorial structure of social production and the development of the territorial municipalities.

The following results were achieved in the individual oblasts in respect of certain basic indicators:

Oblasts	1988 as Percentage of 1987		
	produced output	net output	social labor productivity
Burgas	102.9	110.6	110.3
Varna	105.3	107.5	107.4
Lovech	103.8	109.1	108.7
Mikhaylovgrad	106.1	110.6	110.3
Plovdiv	104.7	107.1	105.8
Razgrad	104.5	108.6	107.3
Sofia Oblast	105.6	115.7	113.7
Sofia City	105.8	110.7	110.1
Khaskovo	105.1	104.9	103.0

The greatest shares in the growth in industrial production were achieved by the economic organizations in Sofia City and Sofia and Plovdiv Oblasts, which were responsible for 41 percent of the rise in industrial goods output.

The development of the main types of production and activities in the individual complexes are characterized by the following figures:

"Electronics" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Automated project design systems, units	212	255.4
Automated work stations, units	5,012	269.9
High-production computer complexes, units	15	375.0
Computers (medium-sized and large) units	38	165.2
Microcomputers (16-bit), units	16,330	153.1
Disk subsystems for large computers, units	1,378	121.7
"Kvant"-type quasielectronic automatic telephone exchanges, thousand lines	37	740.0
Complete automated assembly lines, units	15	187.5
Precision machine tools, units	35	437.5
Color television sets, units	124,264	87.5

The enterprises of the complex manufactured products valued at 5,788 million leva and provided 30.6 percent of the total growth in production output.

New technologies specified in the state plan were introduced for production of the following: 5.25-inch "Cartridge"-type magnetic disk memory devices for the SM-5315 computer and 8-inch magnetic disks for the SM-5314 minicomputer; modular-based microprocessor systems for controlling technological processes, with a processor based on a programmable controller from the P1024 system; an automatic bar machine [prutov avtomat] for 12/16 mm sizes; a range of flat-top and differential-type wave reducers, and other products.

New and improved products were manufactured valued at 1,692 million leva. A number of new products were mastered in production, including high-production computer complexes based on the Izot 1014E computer, a fiber optics system, "Streaming"-type miniature magnetic tape memory devices, modular systems and individual modules for controlling technological processes based on 16-bit microprocessors and microcomputers, a new range of RB280 gantry-type robots with electromechanical actuation and a lifting capacity of 10-160 kg, and the Izot 1056C minicomputer.

A reduction of 2.3 percent in prime cost per 100 leva of output was achieved, mainly as a result of reduced material costs as compared to 1987. Profits of 161.4 million leva over and above the plan figure were realized, and additional profits of 252.2 million leva were obtained from the introduction of scientific and technical development projects.

The "Disk Memory Devices" Economic Trust in Stara Zagora failed to fulfill its annual production plan for 120/31 MB hard-medium miniature memory devices and 635 MB and 121/300 MB disk subsystems.

"Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Complete air-conditioning installations, thousand leva	10,509	120.5
Chemically pure substances and reagents, thousand leva	10,525	170.1
Complete equipment for bread production, units	30	100.0
Caustic soda, thousand tonnes	130	123.4
Soda ash, industrial grade, thousand tonnes	1,100	102.8
Plastics, thousand tonnes	239	112.5
Soft synthetic leathers, thousand square meters	14,272	105.7
PVC [polyvinyl chloride] floor coverings, thousand square meters	30,370	105.2
Car tires, thousand units	980	101.2
PVC pipes, tonnes	32,803	95.3
Toothpaste, tonnes	40,779	100.1

Goods production output in the complex was 405 million leva higher than in the previous year, the rise comprising 14.0 percent of the total growth in output. State tasks were completed for the introduction of technologies for production of MTBE [expansion not known] high-octane gasoline additives, piperacylin, and sizomycin.

The production was mastered of new and improved products valued at 1,092 million leva. The range of manufactured starting materials and products was extended by the addition of methyl tertiary butyl ether, dichloroethane, gelling plasticizers, new types of plant protection agents, and a three-phase scroll-type separating centrifuge. There were rises in the production of plastics, chemically pure substances and reagents, PVC floor coverings, soft synthetic leathers, complete air-conditioning installations, caustic soda, and polystyrene.

Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output was cut by 5.0 percent, and the prime cost of production by 4.0 percent, as compared to 1987. High growth was achieved in profitability and fund yield.

Certain economic trusts failed to fulfill some state orders, such as "Devnya," for production of industrial-grade soda ash, nitrogenous and phosphorous fertilizers, and plastics; "Agrobiokhim," for phosphorous fertilizers; and "Perfumery and Cosmetics," for synthetic resins.

The tasks were not fulfilled for mastering a production technology for polyamide membrane sheets for ultrafiltration (two types), a technology and equipment for production of a 115 cubic-meter capacity bioreactor, and others.

"Transport, Agricultural, and Building Equipment" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987 units
Electric lift trucks	47,415	99.3
Electric lift trucks with built-in pulse controllers	1,409	185.2
Diesel-powered lift trucks	35,069	93.9
Special and specialized lift trucks	2,212	442.4
Remote-controlled electric hoists	126	126.0
Road trucks	6,691	96.7
Specialized heavy vehicles	1,999	113.4
Buses	2,400	88.8
Trolleybuses	67	335.0
Cement mixer trucks	250	106.4
Loading machines	232	154.7
Single-bucket excavators	1,050	101.2
Tank trucks for liquid foods	108	171.4
Combine harvesters	20,674	90.5

Last year the enterprises of the complex produced output valued at 3,242 million leva, 713 million leva of which consisted of new and improved products.

Six tasks from the state plan were completed for mastering new technologies and products.

Regular production began of a new series of program-controlled manipulators, pulse regulators for lift trucks, railroad passenger cars, automated monorail systems for transportation within plants, robotized and automated conveying systems based on robot trucks, and new families of electric- and diesel-powered lift trucks with improved performance characteristics.

Certain enterprises of the "Agromashina," "Balkankar," and "Motor Building" Economic Trusts produced fewer goods than in 1987. The "Batteries" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the state order for mastering a new production technology for 1,550-cycle traction accumulator batteries.

Profitability and fund yield were lower in the complex.

"Heavy Machine Building" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Ships, units	21	100.0
Automatic press units for powdered metal, units	60	375.0
Electric actuator units complete with high-torque motors, units	40,309	93.9
Tractors, units	5,320	112.0
Electrodes for welding, welding on and electric arc cutting, tonnes	20,087	108.8
Truck-mounted cranes, units	25	125.0

Production output in the complex rose by 175 million leva as against the previous year.

Technologies and equipment were introduced into production for a range of pipe valves for medium and high pressures, with diameters from 50 to 1000 mm, and hand-operated valves for pressures of 2.5 and 4.0 megapascals; a production technology for one-off high-quality steel castings; a technology and a range of installations for applying wear-resistant coatings by ion-plasma heat treatment, and others.

Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output was cut by 1.6 percent, and product prime cost by 1.1 percent.

An aggregate profit surplus of 22.4 million leva was realized over and above the plan figure, and additional profits of 25 million leva were obtained from the introduction of scientific and technical development projects.

The plan tasks for mastering the following were not fulfilled: the technology and equipment for flexible production modules for stamping sheets (representative type based on the ShtTs-30 punch press tool); a technology and equipment for a range of extruder lines for flat oriented filaments (basic representative type); and the technology and equipment for a range of extruder lines to produce polypropylene filaments for 100 and 200 tex [international unit for measuring yarn's weight] fabrics (basic representative type).

Production was mastered of only 5 of the 17 new products specified in the state plan.

Certain economic organizations failed to fulfill the following state orders: "Heavy Machine Building" Economic Trust in Radomir, for cast blooms and slabs and strip mill rolls; "Welding and Plasma Technologies" Economic Combine, for electrodes for welding, welding on and electric arc cutting; "Crane Building" Economic Combine, for truck-mounted cranes; and the "Metalkhim" Economic Trust, for central heating radiators, tractors, and rolled strip metal products (not including pipes).

"Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Steel in blocks, cast blooms, and slabs, thousand tonnes	2,799	94.4
Rolled sections from ferrous metals, thousand tonnes	1,308	104.0
Rolled sheets of ferrous metals, thousand tonnes	1,958	102.2
Foundry cast iron, in original state, thousand tonnes	1,437	87.0
Dry foundry coke, thousand tonnes	1,261	111.2
Rolled strip metal products (not including pipes), thousand tonnes	661	105.8
Steel in blocks, cast blooms, and slabs, thousand tonnes	2,799	94.4
Rolled sections from ferrous metals, thousand tonnes	1,308	104.0
Cast-iron radiators, thousand square meters	212	64.1
Hot-rolled sheet steel, thousand tonnes	1,296	101.7
Iron castings	426	101.3

Production output was 113 million leva higher than in 1987. Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output was cut by 3.3 percent, and product prime cost by 1.3 percent.

Production was mastered of a number of new and improved products, including the following: "Niperton" perlite sound-insulating boards, bonded sands [plakirani pyasutsi], finely dispersed kaolin, new ranges of rolled metal sections from the 300 Mill, gallium phosphide, cobalt phosphate, high-purity tellurium, copper-tungsten contact wires, large hard-alloy blanks, magnesium refractories, capillary tubes, and low-gold-content alloys for use in stomatology.

A number of new development projects were introduced, such as improved production technologies for rolled sheet metal (reconstruction and modernization of the 1700 Hot-Rolling Mill), and the production technology for heat-treated and calibrated rolled strip metal. The tasks were not fulfilled for the technology for producing monocrystalline silicon by zone melting without using crucibles, and one for producing monocrystalline silicon plates by the Chokhlarski method.

The "Metallurgy" Economic Trust did not fulfill the state orders for production of steel in blocks, cast blooms, and slabs, rolled ferrous metal strip, and rolled strip metal products (including steel pipes), while the "Metal Products" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the orders for cast-iron heating radiators and rolled strip metal products (including steel pipes.)

"Energy Industry" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Electric power, billion kilowatt hours, including:	45	103.6
from the complex, billion kilowatt hours	41	104.2
Coal, total production, thousand tonnes	35,737	93.0

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Coal, washed production, thousand tonnes	34,119	92.8
Brown coal briquettes, thousand tonnes	1,514	103.3

At the end of 1988 the relative share of electric power production coming from nuclear plants reached 35.6 percent of the total output, as compared to 28.6 percent in 1987.

Compared to the previous year, material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output fell, and additional profits of 38.1 million leva were realized from the introduction of scientific and technical development projects.

"Construction and Building Industry" Complex [subtitle]

During the year total capital investments of 10.4 billion leva were assimilated and basic funds exceeding 9 billion leva in value were brought into service for the purpose of expanding and renewing the material and technical base. The following projects of importance for the national economy were completed and handed over for operation: the 300 Rolling Mill in Burgas, a thermal gauging shop at the Lenin Technological Metallurgical Combine in Pernik, reconstruction of an electrical steel furnace at the Lenin Technological Metallurgical Combine and of Coke Bank No. 3 at the Kremikovtsi Technological Metallurgical Combine, the V. Kolarov Diesel Plant in Varna, an organic chlorine complex (dichloroethane facility) at the Devnya Economic Trust, the "Troyanovo South" and "Troyanova North" mines, the G. Dimitrov State Enterprise in Troyan, and others.

The annual plan of the construction organizations acting as main contractors for the commissioning of basic funds was fulfilled by 107 percent. However, lags in construction occurred and certain structure-determining installations were not brought into service, such as the Refractory Materials Plant in Silistra, the "Record" Metallurgical Combine in Plovdiv, "Energiya" Storage Batteries Plant in Turgovisthe, the Corn Processing Enterprise in Razgrad, the wood pulp production shop at the Timber Industry Plant in Silistra, the K. Filipov Plant in Zlatograd, the "Bulgaria" Plant in Kazanluk, the As. Khalachev Plant in Pleven, and others.

Production output from the enterprises in the "Construction and Building Industry" Complex amounted to 4.3 billion leva, 1.4 billion leva of which related to industrial goods production. Production of the main building materials was as follows:

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Cement, untreated, thousand tonnes	5,397	98.1
Bricks, million units	1,036	100.3
Roof and ridge tiles, million units	50	87.7
Prefabricated reinforced concrete, thousand cubic meters	2,278	94.9
Moisture-insulating materials, thousand cubic meters	13,224	98.1

Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output was cut by 3.3 percent as compared to 1987, while product prime cost fell by 1.9 percent.

Technologies were assimilated for the production of large-sized blocks and installation and construction components.

The state orders for certain basic types of products were not fulfilled: for cement production, by the "Cement" Economic Trust; and for bricks, roof tiles, and ridge tiles, by the "Building Materials" Economic Trust.

"Industry for Man" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Cotton fabrics, million square meters	369	103.3
Woolen fabrics, million square meters	67	100.6
Silk fabrics, million square meters	50	105.5
Linen fabrics, million square meters	11	100.7
Knitted garments (including other knitted articles), million units	138	101.7
Woolen yarns, thousand tonnes	33	99.3
Footwear (not including rubber footwear), million pairs	31	102.0
Soft leathers (including facings), million square dekameters	792	100.7
Flat glass (based on 2 mm size), million square meters	18	90.8
Ceramic sanitary ware, thousand units	650	108.2
Nonwoven floor coverings, thousand square meters	4,765	107.0

The production output of the complex was 203 million leva higher than in 1987. The enterprises provided 19.3 percent of the production for the domestic market, as compared to 19.8 percent in 1987.

Prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 1.8 percent, and material expenditure (not including depreciation) was reduced by 2.3 percent.

A surplus aggregate profit of 177 million leva was realized over and above the plan figure, and additional profits of 26.5 million leva were derived from the introduction of scientific and technical developments.

The "Pirin" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the state order for production of soft leathers, and the "Vikhren" Economic Trust did not fulfill the order for work clothing. Certain enterprises in the "Kvarts" Economic Trust did not fulfill their own production plans for flat glass and glass jars, and some enterprises in the "Sirma" Economic Trust failed to complete their production plans for ginned cotton.

"Agro-Industrial" Complex [subtitle]

The continuing unfavorable weather conditions in 1988 negatively affected both the volume and quality of agricultural production. The agricultural brigades and enterprises produced output from all activities valued at 8,392 million leva, more than 500 million leva less than the figure specified in the 1988 state plan.

Grain production in 1988 was 570,000 tonnes more than in the previous year. Wheat and barley production rose. At the same time, less corn, sunflowers, cotton, oriental tobacco, sugar beet, tomatoes, green peppers, apples, and grapes were produced.

Output of the main agricultural products was as follows:

Products	1988	1987	Annual Averages for Period 1986-88	1981-85
			thousand tonnes	
Grain crops:	7,965.4	7,395.0	7,996.6	8,357.2
Wheat	4,712.9	4,148.6	4,396.0	4,173.4
Barley	1,305.6	1,091.4	1,180.4	1,193.6
Grain corn	1,625.0	1,857.6	2,110.3	2,655.5
Sunflowers	367.1	410.3	422.0	449.7
Cotton	13.6	19.8	17.1	15.7
Oriental tobacco	91.5	108.5	102.2	109.0
Sugar beet	676.8	736.5	760.9	1,084.4
Tomatoes, all types	808.9	827.5	798.9	821.5
Peppers, green	221.8	224.2	214.5	234.9
Apples	314.2	339.2	398.9	437.7
Grapes, all types	928.8	942.6	931.7	1,079.6

Losses arose from failure to harvest in a timely manner a number of crops, such as sugar beet, grapes, apples, grain corn, and certain vegetables. The losses were heaviest in Razgrad, Lovech, and Plovdiv Oblasts.

For the 1989 harvest, the agricultural organizations have sown 11,319 thousand decares to wheat and 3,387 thousand decares to barley. The wheat sowings are 240 thousand decares less than in 1988.

In animal farming, the production output from all categories of farms was valued at 4,685 million leva, or 0.1 percent more than in 1987.

Compared to 1987, total meat and egg production were respectively 1.9 and 0.9 percent higher, while milk production was 0.2 percent less.

The numbers of the main types of agricultural animals were as follows:

	1 Jan 89	1 Jan 89 figure as percentage of 1 Jan 88 figure
	thousands of head	
Cattle:	1,615	98.0
including cows	648	100.3
Pigs	4,134	102.5
Sheep	8,593	96.9
Poultry	41,810	100.9

There was a greater fall in the numbers of sheep in individual farms belonging to the population, namely 4.0 percent.

In the agricultural organizations, the average milk yield from a fodder-fed cow was 63 liters less than in 1987. The greatest decreases were in Lovech Oblast, 131 liters; and Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, 128 liters. The average egg yield per laying hen was three eggs less than in the previous year.

There were **greater purchases** from all categories of farms as compared to 1987, as follows: meat, 28,600 tonnes more; milk, 20.8 million liters; eggs, 56.5 million; and greater quantities of peppers, ripe onions, and potatoes. Smaller quantities of tomatoes, apples, and grapes were purchased.

The state order for sales of cattle and poultry for slaughter was fulfilled by 101.0 percent, and by 102.7 percent for poultry alone. There was a 1.8-percent shortfall in fulfillment of the state order for milk, equal to a deficiency of 40.6 million liters.

Greater quantities of cattle and poultry for meat, of milk, and eggs were purchased from private and ancillary farms, as compared to 1987.

The raw materials and products supplied by agriculture were insufficient to meet the needs of production and the domestic market.

The food and tobacco industry enterprises of the "Agro-Industrial" Complex produced output valued at 10.7 billion leva. The growth achieved, valued at 342 million leva, provided 11.8 percent of the total increase in production output.

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Meat, thousand tonnes	561	104.7
Meat products, thousand tonnes	134	103.7
Cheese, thousand tonnes	113	113.6
Yellow cheese, thousand tonnes	33	100.6
Dairy butter, thousand tonnes	24	90.4
Flour, thousand tonnes	1,217	100.2
Rice, thousand tonnes	36	103.0
Refined sugar, thousand tonnes	360	92.9
Sterilized canned and bottled vegetables, thousand tonnes	245	105.8
Canned and bottled fruit (not including pulps), thousand tonnes	235	103.3
Children's foods, thousand tonnes	28	105.7
Table wines, million liters	337	95.7
Mixed animal feed, thousand tonnes	4,159	108.6

The industrial and agricultural organizations of the complex produced 40.4 percent of the production for the commodity fund, as against 40.7 percent in 1987.

State tasks were introduced for new and advanced technologies for the production of animal feed, wheat for bread-making, and pasta products, and for intensifying the technology and renewing the product range structure in the manufacture of salamis, packaged meats, and ground meat. The tasks were not fulfilled relating to the production of combined vitamin-microelement premixes and advanced production technology for prepared and semiprepared meat-based meals.

The product ranges were extended to include new and improved products, such as potato products, butter-based delicatessen sauces, new types of melted cheeses, including some produced under license, new varieties of ice creams, pork hams, supermarket packaged meat, children's meat products enriched with vitamins, fruit juices, whipped cream products based on sour milk and milk curds, and "Bravo" flour mixes.

The "Bulgarplod" Economic Trusts failed to fulfill the state orders for production of canned and bottled fruit and vegetables, and the "Selected Seeds and Planting Materials" Economic Trust did not fulfill the order for canned and bottled vegetables. The agro-industrial complexes did not fulfill the state orders for production of children's foods and canned and bottled fruit and vegetables.

"Forest Industry" Complex [subtitle]

Main Products	Produced in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Hardwood materials, thousand stacked cubic meters	1,774	98.0
Softwood materials, thousand stacked cubic meters	1,013	117.4
Shaped timber materials, thousand cubic meters	1,022	102.4
Chipboard, thousand cubic meters	261	98.5
Softwood boards and components, thousand cubic meters	729	103.7
Plywood, thousand cubic meters	46	101.3
Pulp (based on 88 percent absolutely dry matter), thousand tonnes	136	120.9
Paper, thousand tonnes	396	107.9
Cardboard, thousand tonnes	71	111.2

The economic organizations in the complex fulfilled their plans according to the main natural and value indicators and produced 50 million leva more output than in 1987.

Material expenditure (not including depreciation) and prime cost per 100 leva of output both fell. Surplus profits of 24.7 million leva were realized over and above the plan figure. There was a rise in production profitability.

"Transportation" Complex [subtitle]

The economic organizations in the complex fulfilled their annual plan tasks according to the main economic indicators. Compared to 1987, production output was 3.4 percent higher, net output rose by 5.1 percent, aggregate profit increased by 11.4 percent, and social labor productivity by 7.0 percent. There was a fall in material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output.

During the year 433.2 million tonnes of freight were carried, or 0.4 percent more than in 1987.

	Carried in 1988, thousand tonnes	1988 as percentage of 1987
Railroad transport	79,311	96.1
Public road transport	326,202	101.1
Sea transport	24,001	92.7
River transport	3,672	90.7
Air transport	26	105.8

Work continued on the automation and integrated mechanization of technological processes and control and on applying electronics in these fields. Radio control links were installed for trains in the Karlovo-Burgas section. The Sofia-Plovdiv section was equipped with trackside equipment for automatic locomotive warning signaling.

A total of 2,092.9 million passengers were transported during the year, representing a 0.6 percent decrease compared to the 1987 figure.

More passengers than planned made use of the air transport services, and the figure was higher than in the previous year. Trolleybus lines began regular service in the towns of Ruse and Stara Zagora. During peak periods, an additional 619 trains were put into service in

railroad transport, and the rolling stock of 4,417 trains was also increased. In road transport, an additional 725,000 journeys were made.

Notwithstanding the good economic results of the complex, in certain units labor and technological discipline, as well as the condition and maintenance of equipment, were unsatisfactory and led to serious transport accidents.

"Communications" Complex [subtitle]

The country's communications continued to be developed and improved. The postal network was extended by 31 post and telegraph offices, 17 of which are in rural areas. A total of 157,641 new telephones were installed, 130,182 of which are for domestic subscribers. In addition, 241 new telex installations were opened, and 1 radio transmitter, 1 television transmitter, 107 radio relay stations, and 51 television relay stations began service.

Revenue from communications services was 6.0 percent higher than in 1987, and social labor productivity rose by 8.8 percent. The number of telephones and the quality of telephone services still do not meet the needs of the population.

IV. Social Development and the Population's Living Standard

At the end of 1988, **the population of the People's Republic of Bulgaria** reached 8,985,800, the natural increase being 1.1 per thousand as compared to 1.0 per thousand in 1987. The average life expectancy increased to 71 years. During the year 116,800 babies were born. Child mortality per thousand newborn children fell from 14.7 in 1987 to 13.5 in 1988, which is the lowest level yet achieved in Bulgaria.

The number of employees in material production fell by 0.2 percent, while the number of workers employed in the nonproduction sphere increased by 1.4 percent.

The results achieved in the development of production created conditions for further satisfying the people's growing material and social needs.

Average monthly wages of workers and employees in the national economy were 246 leva, which is 12 leva more than in 1987.

From 1 July, basic salaries were increased for scientific workers in the academies, scientific and teaching cadres in higher education establishments, and creative workers in the media and cultural organizations.

Per capita real income rose by 3.4 percent as compared to 1987. During the 1986-88 period the average annual rise was 3.4 percent, which is the figure provided in the Law on the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The social consumption funds increased by 419 million leva over the 1987 figure. The greatest increases were in health care, namely 5.4 percent, and education, 5.1 percent. The social consumption funds in the form of pensions, assistance, and student grants increased by 4.6 percent.

In per capita terms, the social consumption funds amounted to 971 leva, as compared to 925 leva in 1987. The total increase during the first 3 years of the 5-year plan was 15.9 percent.

Prices of agricultural products sold in the cooperative markets rose by about 5 percent, with rises of 8.8 percent for fresh vegetables and of 4.1 percent for fresh fruit.

The municipal people's councils and other investors **erected 62,926 housing units** during the year, but the state order was not fulfilled by 22.3 percent. Results were poor in Mikhaylovgrad, Razgrad, and Burgas Oblasts, and also in Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad, Panagyurishte, Nova Zagora, Malko Turnovo, Sevlievo, Provadiya, Tutrakan, and other towns.

Goods were supplied to the domestic market from local production and imports valued at 16,447 million leva, representing a 5.9 percent increase over 1987.

The quantities of basic goods supplied to the domestic market from local production were as follows:

Main Goods	Quantities supplied to commodity fund in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Meat, total, thousand tonnes	461	107.6
Milk, thousand tonnes	572	102.9
White cheese, thousand tonnes	84	102.4
Yellow cheese, thousand tonnes	27	102.7
Dairy fats, thousand tonnes	22	107.0
Eggs, million units	1,123	98.9
Edible vegetable oils, thousand tonnes	119	106.6
Sugar, thousand tonnes	201	100.9
Sugar products, thousand tonnes	111	100.9
Fresh vegetables, thousand tonnes	267	98.3
Fresh fruit, thousand tonnes	152	93.3
Children's foods, thousand tonnes	23	122.0
Soft drinks, million liters	658	106.3
Cotton fabrics, million meters	70	108.0
Woolen fabrics, million meters	12	94.2
Tailored clothing and articles, million leva	523	103.0
Knitted outerwear, total, million items	47	103.5
Children's knitted outerwear, million items	27	115.6

Main Goods	Quantities supplied to commodity fund in 1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Knitted underwear, total, million items	73	101.6
Children's knitted underwear, million items	30	107.5
Footwear (not including indoor wear), million pairs	23	109.4
Stockings and pantyhose, million pairs	77	101.3
Furniture, million leva	355	108.4
Washing machines, thousand units	164	97.0
Domestic refrigerators, thousand units	95	80.7
Color television sets, thousand units	124	87.7

There was an increase in the numbers of citizens engaged in collective and individual labor activity for the additional production of goods and services, under Council of Ministers Decree No. 35 of 1987. On 31 December 1988, the number of such persons engaged in trade, public catering, everyday services, taxi services, and other activities reached about 47,000.

Despite the increase in the commodity fund, the requirements of the domestic market for a number of goods were not fully met. Fewer quantities of the following goods than those specified in the state orders and under the state plan for the year were supplied to the domestic market: yellow cheese, sugar products, fresh vegetables and fruit, potatoes, sterilized bottled and canned vegetables, compotes, children's foods, ground paprika, beans, knitted underwear, children's tailored clothing, stockings and pantyhose, electrical water heaters, cooking and heating stoves, domestic refrigerators, household glassware and porcelain, television sets, cement, bricks, roof and ridge tiles, and other products.

Certain changes ensured in the structure of the commodity funds. Compared to 1987, the relative shares of clothing and footwear fell by 0.7 percentage points, and of goods for home furnishing and equipment, by 0.5 percentage points. There were also decreases in the relative amounts of milk and dairy products, poultry meat, fruit, vegetables, canned and bottled foods, building and heating materials, and other goods. There were increases in the relative shares of engineering products, fuels for private motor vehicles, perfume products and cosmetics, and other items.

In retail trade, including public catering, goods turnover increased by 568 million leva over 1987.

The main reason for the unsatisfactory state of the market is insufficient production of goods. This condition of the market is also caused to a large extent by weaknesses in the organization of trade itself and by irregular stocking of the stores with goods in high demand. Progress is slow toward direct contracting between trading establishments and the producers. The working hours of a number of stores are not fully in accordance with the population's free time.

The volume of everyday services rose by 71.7 million leva over 1987. The development of the main types of services was as follows:

	1988 as percentage of 1987
Metal machining services	106.1
Construction and repair services	119.0
Motor vehicle maintenance and repair	112.5
Lift maintenance and repair	106.5
Maintenance and repair of consumer equipment	104.3
Optical services	106.3
Dry cleaning	101.0
Tailoring and dressmaking services	97.2
Laundry services	103.0
Radio and television maintenance and repair	101.5
Furniture and woodworking services	101.2
Textile and knitwear services	100.1
Footwear, leather, and haberdashery services	98.1

The volume of consumer services increased in all the country's oblasts, with the greatest rises occurring in Plovdiv, Varna, and Razgrad Oblasts.

In many regions the municipal people's councils failed to create the necessary conditions for opening up more establishments for consumer services. Insufficient use was made of the new forms of services to the population: individual and collective labor activity by the citizens, application of the piecework system, and the setting up of cooperatives. In a number of municipalities, particularly in the smaller villages, insufficient services were carried out in the maintenance and repair of radio and television equipment, consumer equipment, and motor vehicles, in construction and repair services, and other activities.

Education, culture, and health care services to the population further developed.

In 1988, 15,500 young specialists completed their higher education in Bulgaria, of whom 4,900 qualified as engineers and technical specialists. A total of 77,200 students completed their secondary education, and 26,700 completed specialized secondary education. Since the beginning of the 1988-89 academic year, 1,234,900 pupils are studying in the uniform secondary polytechnical schools, 122,700 of whom are enrolled in the first grade. Over 80 percent of children aged between 3 and 6 years attend kindergartens.

In 1988, 233 classrooms were opened in all types of schools, and 2,625 additional places were provided in kindergartens. The material-technical base of higher and semihigher education establishments was expanded, and they were equipped with a number of modern teaching aids and types of apparatus.

Over 61 million books and brochures were published in the country in 1988. The public libraries stock over 112 million copies of books, periodicals, and other library materials, which are used by 3.5 million readers annually.

Radio and television expanded their activities, broadcasting more hours of news, music, sports, and children's programs and transmissions.

A number of buildings and other material and technical facilities were provided for healthcare requirements. Seven new health establishments were opened. The numbers of beds increased in the health establishments. At the end of 1988 there were more than 88,000 hospital beds. The activities and scope of home social welfare services increased, as well as the number of places in social welfare institutions. There was an increase in the medical staff in the health institutions. An average of 30 doctors and 7 stomatologists are available per 10,000 members of the population.

The material-technical base of **tourism** was expanded and updated in 1988. The numbers of beds provided in hotels, motels, and camping sites exceeded 340,000, representing a 3.8 percent increase over 1987.

There was a 9.2 percent rise in the numbers of foreign tourists and visitors to Bulgaria, as compared to 1987.

The material base of **rest and recreation facilities** was expanded. New rest homes came into service on the Black Sea coast and in the mountain resorts.

A number of measures were taken in 1988 in the field of **environmental protection and regeneration.** A total of 375 million leva were applied to implement nature protection measures. Some 89.3 percent of the capital investments planned for the year were assimilated.

The funds spent and measures carried out were aimed at improving the state of the environment. A total of 256 facilities were completed for protecting the air, water, and soil, for introducing waste-free technologies, and for noise protection. During the year, 560,000 decares of land were protected against erosion, 14,000 decares of damaged plots were recultivated, and over 70,000 decares were irrigated. Chemical treatment was completed to restore the fertility of 304,000 decares of saline soils and soils containing harmful amounts of acids. Biological means and integrated methods were applied for plant protection on almost 13 million decares of land. About 354,000 decares were reafforested.

During the year, 18 new sites were declared to be under the protection of the Law on Nature Protection.

The achievements in preventing and eliminating ecological disturbances on the country's territory are not sufficient. This relates most of all to the ecologically threatened regions of the towns of Ruse, Dimitrovgrad, Sofia, Pernik, Devnya, Stamboliyski, Razlog, and others. There are frequent cases of violations of the normative documents and requirements relating to environmental protection on the part of industrial and other economic organizations.

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The results achieved in 1988 and the broad-scale practical measures and approaches mapped out by the December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee provide an additional impetus for the further accelerated development of the country upon a qualitatively new basis.

The setting up and functioning of the company-based organization of the national economy and the introduction of the new economic conditions and regulators create fundamentally new possibilities for increasing the interests of the workers and economic organizations in economic results and for developing their initiative and responsibility in relation to the successful fulfillment of the plan for 1989.

Daily Chief Editor, Yakovlev on Restructuring
PM0303153289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 19 Feb 89 p 6

[Article on dialogue between Zdenek Horeni, RUDE PRAVO chief editor, and Yegor Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The Times We Live In"; date, place not given]

[Text] Ye.Ya.: We haven't met for nearly two years. "MN" [MOSCOW NEWS] featured our dialogue "Spring. Czechoslovakia. Gorbachev", devoted to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, in April 1987. One could say much water has flowed under the bridge since then and carried off some of the difficulties in our way. In short, we have some common ground. But first and foremost—about the recent events in Prague linked to the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's self-immolation: demonstrations in Wenceslaus Square and clashes of young people with public security forces. What does this situation attest to?

Z.H.: Ours is a highly differentiated society, and not only by its social structure: it reacts in different ways, for instance, to the reconstruction being carried out in Czechoslovakia. Most people see this as a new chapter in socialism's development. But there are also those who say that all of this is well and good, but let's be wary, we haven't forgotten 1968. Others believe that the leadership alone deals with perestroyka, that it is none of their business, and they prefer to wait and see what turn things will take in the Soviet Union and how they will proceed in our country. The level of these groups; social activity is very different, of course, but all of them, in the final analysis, subscribe to the positions of socialism. In this they differ from those who, riding on the back of perestroyka, seek to use it to overthrow socialism.

If we take a closer look at the events in Wenceslaus Square, we shall see that it is precisely this kind of people who were behind these meetings. They made skilful use of the discontent triggered by slow progress in social development in the past few decades and the marked decline in the economy.

Ye.Ya.: At a recent highly authoritative gathering in Moscow I listened to a speaker who asked from the rostrum: "Who is making perestroyka?" and replied, "Of course, we, party functionaries, and not the big mouths who gather for meetings." But the people he called big mouths possess the same civil rights as he does. Their activity, even if of a peculiar kind, has been born of perestroyka. This has to be reckoned with.

Z.H.: It would be wrong to regard every one of those several thousand people who turned up in the square as antisocialist elements. Some came with the slogans "Down with Socialism", whereas others were motivated by a desire to free socialism from the mistakes and shortcomings accompanying the creation of the new—they seek to vindicate social ideals.

Ye.Ya.: But what is to be done further on? The sharper the confrontation, the more meaningful the programme of consolidation. What will happen if the crowd reappears in Wenceslaus Square?

Z.H.: Everyone is equal before the law. And if a demonstration has not been permitted, the law comes into force. This has been, is and will be the case. According to Prague's rules, Wenceslaus Square is not intended for such gatherings. Just as you are reluctant to turn Red Square into a club for disputes, so we as well strive to preserve our main square.

The events in question put forward a host of problems before the most varied people. There are also some who now take advantage of this to declare: this is what your perestroyka and democratization are leading to. Anti-perestroyka elements have profited by this, beyond all doubt. And nevertheless the leadership of the party and the national front see the process of perestroyka as irreversible. We shall continue following our action programme, an inalienable part of which is broad social dialogue.

Ye.Ya.: We see all the goings-on through the prism of perestroyka. It already has a record of its own. I could perhaps name three stages in the development of social consciousness in our country. At the very beginning of perestroyka it seemed enough merely to change one's posture in one's armchair for everything to start smooth sailing. When it became clear that it would not be possible to overcome the past all at once, we clamped down on the bureaucrat, whom we saw as the main adversary of the new, and suspected of all mortal sins. At that time we rather looked like those people who raised a pack of wolves, let them loose and were now trying to catch them. Lastly, the third stage in the development of social thinking coincided with the 19th party conference. It became self-evident that our existing political structures were reproducing anti-perestroyka. For instance, how could the old Supreme Soviet be equal to the new tasks if it was of the same composition as before? The old structures, which provided a dependable foundation for stagnation, have become a Procrustean bed. At the time of renewal, a reform of the political system alone can ensure perestroyka's irreversibility.

Z.H.: I can also name the stages which perestroyka in Czechoslovakia has outgrown. I would call the first of them—a stage of handclapping. We applauded whatever we heard from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress, but did not translate it into our own language. A year of dilly-dallying was needed, and only at the beginning of 1987 did we set about a radical economic reform. Beginning with January 1 next year the whole of our national economy will work under new conditions. Now, we have entered a third stage of perestroyka: drawing up a system of political reforms, beginning with the party

itself. All of this is taking place in the light of preparations for the 18th Congress of the CPCZ, which it has been decided to hold a year earlier. The economic reform will be completed in 1990, and the 18th Congress will be a milestone in implementing political reforms.

Ye.Ya.: And the now existing democratic institutions—how good are they?

Z.H.: They need considerable reform. Now we are staging a number of experiments. On the basis of the previous electoral system we are experimenting with elections for deputies, and first secretaries of party committees involving two candidates. The other day the first lesson of this kind took place at the school of democracy: the first secretary was elected from two candidates in one of the district party committees.

Ye.Ya.: Over the past years we must have lost all democratic habits if elections out of two candidates are seen as an experiment.

Z.H.: I am a realist, and I proceed from the real state of society. A year ago during the annual election campaign in the party, when it was necessary to decide how we should vote—by secret ballot or by a show of hands—only 5 per cent of the organizations favoured voting by secret ballot. But this year the overwhelming majority of organizations will vote by secret ballot during the annual meetings.

Ye.Ya.: To what extent will the expected political reforms renew the state, social structures, and create the necessary democratic mechanism? For example, the electoral law we have adopted, even if it is not perfect in every respect, has caused considerable activity on the part of the electorate at the elections of people's deputies of the USSR.

Z.H.: We have just started work on the new Constitution. It is too early to speak about many things. I can say just this: our system is founded on an alliance of political parties and public organizations functioning on the basis of the National Front. It is a dependable basis, and we shall develop it.

Ye.Ya.: The more we speak about the need for renewal today, the more distinctly we visualize the shortcomings of the still existing model of socialism. We called it real socialism, although what was real was not democracy, or government by the people, but antidemocratic processes. But, having admitted this, we cannot but admit the following: in 1968 we joined efforts to defend that socialism in Czechoslovakia which we saw as perfect at that time, whereas now we are speaking about its deformations. Doesn't it mean that the time has come to re-evaluate the events of 20 years ago in Czechoslovakia and take a broader look at where the constructive element of the Prague spring ended and its antisocialist antithesis began? To reconsider where people acted in a desire to set socialism free of shortcomings, and where its enemies capitalized on the real blunders of socialism? All of this is very painful, but what else can we do? We also had to admit that people who were persecuted in the past, named dissidents, some of whom were forced to leave the country, were right in many respects and, the main thing, they were more courageous than those who voiced delightful unanimity on any occasion.

Z.H.: The events of 1968 were limited in time, from January to August. At that time, the January Plenary meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee laid down the lines for rectifying past mistakes. This was reflected in the action programme which appeared a few months later. This was a political compromise, but also an attempt at the creative elaboration of socialism. Even today we are returning to this programme in some respects, drawing from it primarily the principle of self-management for the workforce units. Regrettably, the antisocialist forces gained the upper hand after the first months of development. As a matter of fact, I shall not repeat what is universally known. Those events are over and done with. We will not return to their reappraisal—at any rate our generation. There is no inner need for this.

The consequences of 1968 affected many families, roughly 450,000 persons found themselves outside the party. Needless to say, these people do not bear responsibility equal to that which the leadership of the party at the time was made to bear. The 15th Congress of the CPCZ opened the way back into the party for all those who had earned that right by their work. Today we must do our utmost to enlist former party members in socialist construction. We have a clearly formulated policy towards non-party people.

Ye.Ya.: We also speak constantly about the need to involve non-party people in leading work. But for the time being we have only one non-party minister—composer Raymond Pauls, who is Latvia's Minister of Culture. For lack of other examples, all the newspapers have been writing about him.

Z.H.: In life in general there is a constant gap between the policy of the leadership and its implementation locally. RUDE PRAVO took a stand in defence of a woman who was not made a librarian at her enterprise for the sole reason that she was not a party member. Regrettably, we were unable to help her: the factory not only gave up her services but even sent angry petitioners to the editorial office—who had given us the right to interfere in their affairs? So that programmes are one thing, but quite often their implementation proves, alas, to be something entirely different. What is important in this case is the party leadership's resolve in translating the adopted political line into life.

Vienna Rights Body Sets 'Unacceptable' Conditions
LD0603181989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] A delegation of the Helsinki International Human Rights Federation based in Vienna arrived in Prague today for talks on the possibilities of cooperation with the

committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation. Their agenda also included a meeting with representatives of state bodies.

The Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation has announced that the meeting planned for today at the Czech Ministry of Justice and the Federal Interior Ministry's passport and visa office could not take place because the Helsinki International Federation delegation members set conditions for the talks which were not acceptable to the Czechoslovak side.

UK Sentencing of 'Spy' for CSSR Criticized

LD0603200389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Erwin van Haarlem was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in London for spying for Czechoslovakia. Editor Jiri Cebrovsky analyzes this case:

[Cebrovsky] Let us call it a story in two parts. The first is a trial. The prosecutor used many words to make the defendant's situation worse, and the judge acted in a similar way. Nevertheless, at the finish, the court did not have enough evidence to sentence Van Haarlem to 10 years. However, Erwin van Haarlem was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

Now for the second part: The British propaganda shows very little interest in the trial of the alleged Czechoslovak spy. It does not care that a man has been sentenced in London to 10 years' imprisonment without having had his guilt proven by facts and witnesses. The propaganda is, however, remarkably interested in the behavior of justice in another country. The British public is literally bombarded with reports on several individuals who have visibly violated the law. In this case it is not Van Haarlem but rather Czechoslovakia which is the topic of discussion. When we put these two things together, we will see that there is something ugly about the whole business. What I mean by this is that they can be very quiet when British justice uses double standards, but they shout and assail us when justice and the law is satisfied in our country.

NATO Maneuvers Termed 'Vestige' of Cold War

AU0603152289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Mar 89 p 7

[Miroslav Kubin Bonn dispatch in the "Note" column: "Nightmare Planning"]

[Text] The NATO maneuvers currently under way in the FRG have been code-named Wintex-Cimex. They are, in fact, a staff exercise kept secret in bunkers and behind closed doors—i.e. simply a paper war. Nevertheless, these "war games" have caused a greater uproar among the public than when tanks once tore over the terrain during other military exercises. The reason is that it has transpired that this time NATO is training for (even though merely on paper) not only a nuclear first-strike against the socialist countries, but also a second strike that would also affect certain West German cities.

The peace movement in the FRG organized protests—against what SPD Deputy Jungmann has called nightmare planning from the cold war era—in more than 120 cities and communities. Klaus Zeitler, mayor of Wuerzburg—a city that is included in this exercise—has refused to carry out the role allotted to him in these "war games," i.e. to order the population to remain in the city, thus leaving the highways open for tanks and other NATO vehicles brought in to oppose the "troop movement from the East."

In Osnabrueck the DKP distributed a leaflet protesting these "war games." In response to this, the city council immediately discharged Klaus-Peter Becker, a communist, from the council's services, because his name had appeared on the leaflet among the names of the initiators of this protest. The DKP appraises the city council's step as an attempt to intimidate the movement for peace and disarmament. Meanwhile, a special Bundeswehr detachment for "psychological defense" in Andernach has prepared a different kind of leaflet: Within the framework of the Winter-Cimex exercise, 5,000-10,000 leaflets are to be dropped over the Bavarian Forest near Czechoslovak border areas. In a real conflict they would be dropped over "enemy territory." According to UNSERE ZEIT, at the present stage of East-West detente the operations being trained for during the maneuvers certainly seem to be a vestige of the cold war.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 16-22 Feb

AU2402153289

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 17 to 23 February report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline given in parentheses):

The 20 February session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee was attended and addressed by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee. (RUDE PRAVO 21 Feb 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier, who departed for Moscow on 16 February, was seen off at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by Jaromir Johanes, Frantisek Kincl, and Milan Vaclavik. (PRAVDA 17 Feb 89 p 1) Upon his return from Moscow on 18 February, Ladislav Adamec was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Jaromir Johanes and Milan Vaclavik. (PRAVDA 20 Feb 89 p 1)

The 16 February session of the Central Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee held in Prague was attended and addressed by Josef Haman and Jozef Lenart. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb 89 p 2)

During his visit to Bratislava on 21 February, Miroslav Zavadil was received by Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member. (PRAVDA 22 Feb 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek attended the 22 February talks held in Bratislava between Ladislav Adamec and Ignac Janak. (PRAVDA 23 Feb 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec received Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR, in Prague on 21 February. (PRAVDA 22 Feb 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, presented to Frantisek Jiroudek, national artist, the Order of the Republic on the occasion of the latter's 75th birthday, in Prague on 16 February. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb 89 p 1) He visited two exhibitions in Prague on 21 February. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Feb 89 p 1)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, visted the Rovnost united agricultural cooperative in Brtnice near Jihlava on 16 February. (ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 17 Feb 89 p 1) He was awarded and accepted the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences' Golden Plaque of Honor, in Brno on 16 February. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak presented to Jan Selecky, head of a CPSL Central Committee department, the CPSL Central Committee's congratulatory letter on the latter's 50th birthday, in Bratislava on 21 February. (PRAVDA 22 Feb 89 p 1) He visited the Trnava District on 22 February. (PRAVDA 23 Feb 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, presented to Slovak manager Viliam Gallo the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Bratislava on 17 February. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Feb 89 p 2) Knotek visited the work site of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on 20 February. (PRAVDA 21 Feb 89 p 1) He attended Ladislav Adamec's meeting with youth in Bratislava on 22 February, and accompanied Ladislav Adamec during his visit to a Bratislava chemical plant the same day. (PRAVDA 23 Feb 89 p 1)

Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended and addressed the 51st session of the State Planning Commission in Prague on 21 February. (PRAVDA 22 Feb 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, presented awards to 60 members of the People's Militia in Prague on 21 February. (PRAVDA 22 Feb 89 p 2) He presented to Jiri Pauer, director of the Prague National Theater, the CPCZ Central Committee's congratulatory letter on the latter's 70th birthday, in Prague; the date of the presentation ceremony is not given. (VECERNI PRAHA 21 Feb 89 p 3) Stepan presided over a session of the Prague National Front City Committee on 21 February. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Feb 89 p 1)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, met with representatives of arts unions in Prague on 16 February. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb 89 p 2) He presented to Jiri Pauer, director of the Prague National Theater, the Order of Victorious February, in Prague on 21 February. (PRAVDA 22 Feb 89 p 1) He visited members of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Milovice on 22 February. (RUDE PRAVO 23 Feb 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, met with functionaries of the cultural workers' trade union, in Prague on 16 February. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb 89 p 2) Zavadil was present when Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, in Prague on 18 February. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Feb 89 p 1) He attended a ceremony for brigades of socialist labor in Prague on 22 February. (PRAVDA 23 Feb 89 p 2)

CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes was present when CSSR President Gustav Husak received credentials from the new ambassadors of Burma, Cambodia, and Benin, in Prague on 16 February. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb 89 p 1) Johanes held talks with Harry Ott, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, in Prague on 17 February. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Feb 89 p 2) He addressed a session of the CSSR National Front Presidium in Prague on 22 February. (PRAVDA 23 Feb 89 p 2) He received a delegation of deputies of the North Atlantic Assembly in Prague on 22 February. (PRAVDA 23 Feb 89 p 2)

Appearances for 23 Feb-1 Mar

AU0303181989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, and Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak from 24 February to 2 March report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

The rally to mark the 41st anniversary of Victorious February, held in Prague on 23 February, was attended by Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Alois Indra, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zavadil, and Josef Haman. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 1)

The reception given in honor of the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army by Lieutenant General Ivan Shport, USSR military and air attache, in Prague on 23 February, was attended by Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 1)

The joint session of the Defense and Security Committees of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly, held in Prague on 23 February, was addressed by Army General Milan Vaclavik and Frantisek Kincl. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 2)

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Army Trade Union, held in Prague on 1 March, was attended by Milan Vaclavik and Miroslav Zavadil. (PRAVDA 2 Mar 89 p 2)

State awards were presented to meritorious party members in the south Moravian region by Karel Urbanek and Vladimir Herman in Brno on 27 February. On the same day the two party representatives spoke with former secretaries of party district committees in the south Moravian region. (PRAVDA 28 Feb 89 p 2)

The plenary session of the Central Bohemian Regional Committee of the National Front, held in Prague on 1 March, was attended by Karel Urbanek and Josef Haman. (ROLNICKE NOVINY 2 Mar 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, presented state awards to meritorious prewar CPCZ members in Prague on 23 February. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CPSL Central Committee first secretary, presented state awards to meritorious CPCZ members and laid a bouquet at the Klement Gottwald Monument in Bratislava on 23 February. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 2) On the same day he attended a rally in honor of the 41st anniversary of Victorious February, in Bratislava. (PRAVDA 24 Feb 89 p 1) He visited the Avex joint stock company and the Slovnaft enterprise, and later spoke with officials of the CPSL's Bratislava-2 municipal district committee and of National Front organizations, on 28 February. (PRAVDA 1 Mar 89 p 1) He also met with the members of the Central Committee Presidium and the Secretariat of the Slovak Journalists Union in Modra-Harmonie on 1 March. (PRAVDA 2 Mar 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, arrived in Banska Bystrica on 27 February for a working visit; on the same day he toured the Slovenka national enterprise, visited an Army sports center, and conferred with central Slovak regional officials. (PRAVDA 28 Feb 89 p 1) On 28 February he met party officials in Dolny Kubin and visited the Tesla Orava plant in Nizna. (PRAVDA 1 Mar 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the party's Prague City Committee, presented the Order of Labor to Bretislav Svarovsky, Prague-2 national committee chairman, on the latter's birthday in Prague on 23 February. On the same day Stepan headed a joint delegation of Prague party and state agencies at a wreath-laying ceremony at the Klement Gottwald Monument in Prague. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 2) On 24 February he attended the presentation of a Hungarian award to the People's Militia unit in the CKD works in Prague. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Feb 89 p 2) He toured the Avia state enterprise in Prague-Letnany and spoke to its party aktiv on 28 February. (PRAVDA 1 Mar 89 p 2) On 1 March he met in Prague with Hans Mayr, Presidium member and chairman of the Vienna organization of the Socialist Party of Austria and deputy mayor of Vienna. (PRAVDA 2 Mar 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, presented state awards to prewar party members in Prague on 23 February. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 2) On 27 February he attended a meeting of South Moravian Communists in Brno (PRAVDA 28 Feb 89 p 2) and on 28 February he visited the Red Whitsuntide plant of the Janka enterprise in Radotin. (PRAVDA 1 Mar 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, presented the A. Zapotocky Prize to 20 individuals and collectives in Prague on 23 February. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb 89 p 8) On 28 February he chaired the session of the CPCZ Central Committee's Commission for Social Policy in Prague. (PRAVDA 1 Mar 89 p 1)

Foreign Miniser Jaromir Johanes welcomed Danish Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen at Prague's Ruzyne Airport on 28 February. (PRAVDA 1 Mar 89 p 1)

Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, presented the Order of Labor to Lt Gen Ladislav Sochor on the latter's birthday, in Prague on 24 February. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Feb 89 p 8)

CSSR's Lenart Holds Talks During 1-Day Visit

Honecker Receives Lenart

LD0203183689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1632 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—With its sights on the 12th party congress, the SED is confronting—in close, trusting solidarity with all the working people—the new challenges in further shaping developed socialist society. This was stated by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on Thursday in Berlin during a talk with Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The SED is consistently continuing its path of the unity of economic and social policy, characterized by continuity and renewal, and the path of intensifying the national economy and developing the key technologies as a priority.

Erich Honecker underlined that the SED will also in the future strictly respect in its policy the universal laws of socialist construction as well as specific national conditions. Close cooperation among the socialist countries and parties is proving itself as the foundation for the successful advance of socialism on German soil.

Jozef Lenart explained how the CPCZ is concentrating its strength on fulfilling tasks for further raising economic potential on the basis of intensification on all sides for the well-being of the people. The economic reform which was introduced, and far-reaching changes in other social areas, at the head of which the CPCZ is standing, are directed at strengthening the performance capability of socialism.

Both partners in the talks underlined their parties' positions to further increase the weight of socialism in the international class conflict above all by means of the increase in the performance strength of the national economy in their countries and by means of deepening cooperation among the socialist countries. With the agreements between the general secretaries of both parties as a starting point it is a matter of even more effectively shaping the exchange of experience and of using in a determined way the great potential for joint or agreed solutions to problems on the agenda.

Further cooperation within the CEMA framework thereby increasingly gains in significance. It is a matter of raising the work of CEMA to a qualitatively higher level, which coincides with the demands of the time.

Erich Honecker and Jozef Lenart affirmed that the SED and the CPCZ will also work resolutely in the future to secure peace. The GDR and CSSR will contribute to put into practice the peace strategy of the Warsaw Pact by means of a flexible policy of dialogue, jointly presented initiatives, and their own proposals. The most recent measures from both countries for the unilateral reduction of their military forces are also evidence of this. The partners in the talks agreed that respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all states are fundamental preconditions for consolidating trust and cooperation.

In an encounter between Jozef Lenart and Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, both sides praised the high state of economic and scientific-technical cooperation achieved between the GDR and the CSSR. Now it is a matter of using even more effectively the cooperation possibilities in science and production for comprehensive intensification in both countries.

CTK Reports Talks

LD0203230189 Prague CTK in English 2049 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin March 2 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart, on a one-day working visit to the German Democratic Republic, was received here today by general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker.

The two representatives exchanged opinions on topical issues of the building of socialism in their countries, the possibilities of cooperation between the two parties and the most important problems of international politics.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR's results in the economic and social sphere confirm the correctness of the current line of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Jozef Lenart underlined the importance of the restructuring of all spheres of the life of Czechoslovak society, the aim of which is the all-round strengthening of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The two representatives appreciated the positive tendencies in the development of international relations and pointed out the principal importance of the latest unilateral disarmament measures of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Jozef Lenart also met here today with Guenter Mittag, Socialist Unity Party Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. They discussed the possibilities of further improving the mechanism of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and stressed the need for new forms of economic cooperation.

Mittag, Lenart Discuss Cooperation

AU0603111489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, for a talk in Berlin on Thursday [2 March].

Guenter Mittag reported on the significant tasks that were adopted by the seventh SED Central Committee session for the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and for the preparation of the 12th SED Congress. In this connection, he stressed the growing role of science and technology for the continuation of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy.

Jozef Lenart explained the CPCZ tasks in preparing its 18th congress, aimed at further developing the efficiency of the national economy on the basis of comprehensive intensification. Through the successful fulfillment of the tasks that have matured, the people's standard of living can be steadily improved, he stated.

The partners in the talk paid tribute to the high level of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and CSSR, which has been achieved as a result of talks between the leading representatives of the two parties in March 1988. On the basis of the high level of intertwinement between the two countries' national economies, it is important to utilize the possibilities of cooperation in science and production even more efficiently for comprehensive intensification in both countries.

In the course of the talk, both sides confirmed the view that the work of CEMA must be raised to a qualitatively higher level that corresponds to the requirements of our time. The two officials exchanged experiences on this topic.

The talk, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Guenter Ehrensperger, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the Planning and Finance Department, and Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR.

Honecker Greets CPSU's Nikonov on Birthday

AU0203115289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The SED Central Committee conveyed to Viktor Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, its cordial congratulations on his 60th birthday and its best wishes for success in his responsible work. The greetings address, which was signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, pays tribute to the work of Nikonov in the central leading bodies of the party of Lenin. It not only serves the well-being of the Soviet people, with whom the working people in the GDR feel closely related, but, moreover, it contributes to the further deepening of fraternal cooperation between the two parties and states, the message concludes.

Stoph Meets Netherlands Foreign Trade Minister

LD0203212589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government is interested in the expansion and extension of relations, in particular of economic relations, with the Netherlands. The forthcoming Leipzig Spring Fair, with increased participation by Netherlands firms, will reflect the elevated level of relations.

This was stressed in Berlin by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of State, in talks with Yvonne van Rooy, Netherlands minister for foreign trade. Following from the constructive talks during the official visit to the Netherlands by Erich Honecker in June 1987, Mrs Van Rooy lauded the clear upswing in overall relations acheived as a result of the visit. She said trade and economic relations occupied an important position.

The continuation of the policy of dialogue and advanced economic relations were stressed in agreement by the interlocutors as an important contribution to detente and the preservation of peace. Willi Stoph briefed Mrs Van Rooy on the contributions of the party and state leadership of the GDR to the detente process.

Central Committee Message Congratulates Army

AU0303172289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 89 p 1

[Message from the SED Central Committee to the National People's Army: "The Party's Class Assignment Is Always Honorably Fulfilled; Congratulations From the SED Central Committee on the Day of the National People's Army"]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, seamen, noncommissioned officers, petty officers, warrant officers, officers, generals, and admirals,

Comrade civilian employees and reservists of the National People's Army,

On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the National People's Army, the SED Central Committee conveys to you cordial greetings and congratulations.

In political and battlefield training, in the ready-alert system, and in combat service, the members of the National People's Army, under the party's leadership, are implementing with great commitment the supreme principles of the socialist military doctrine and the humanist purpose of soldiers in socialism, that is, to preserve peace and to prevent the arms from deciding. In this way, they are carrying out active peace work.

In close comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies, they always reliably protect the socialist achievements, at the side of the working

people. They themselves make a considerable contribution to economically strengthening our socialist homeland, and they protect our people's lives in happiness and peace.

The SED Central Committee conveys thanks and pays tribute to all National People's Army members, civilian employees, and reservists.

The shift from confrontation to detente in international relations is, above all, due to the offensive peace policy of socialism. The most reactionary NATO forces, which continue to advocate the strategy of nuclear deterrence and the modernization of their offensive weapons against their peoples' will, are increasingly opposing this development.

Intense efforts by all peace forces are required to make international development irreversible and to increasingly advance it. The socialist armed forces' great watchfulness, adequate preparedness, and defense capability prove to be an unrenouncable factor to preserve peace, as long as socialism and peace continue to be threatened militarily.

We are convinced that the Communists and all members, civilian employees, and reservists of the National People's Army will join in the people's broad mass movement with new initiatives and in a dignified manner, and will always honorably fulfill the party's class assignment in the year of the 40th anniversary of the GDR and in preparation for the 12th SED Congress. They will face the new tasks and challenges resulting from the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states and contribute with great achievements to further strengthening socialism and securing peace.

The SED Central Committee wishes you, dear comrades, and your families much success, health, and creative vigor.
With socialist greetings,
SED Central Committee
E. Honecker, general secretary

The GDR Council of Ministers also conveyed greetings.

City Assembly Delegation Meets FRG's Kohl

AU0203164889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Neustadt an der Weinstrasse (ADN)—A City Assembly of Wernigerode delegation, which is currently visiting Neustadt an der Weinstrasse (Rhineland-Palatinate) to prepare a town-twinning agreement, met with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Sunday [26 February]. The 5-member delegation, headed by Deputy Mayor Rita Ahrens, was invited by the Neustadt City Council for a vote on a sister city agreement and an annual program between the two communities.

At the periphery of the visiting program, and at the request of the FRG side, the delegation met with Helmut Kohl, who lives in Oggersheim, near Neustadt. In his talk with the visiting delegation, the chancellor expressed support for further shaping and improving relations between the two German states step by step.

Deputy Mayor Rita Ahrens pointed to the joint communique, which was signed by Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker during the latter's visit to Bonn in 1987. She stressed that such partnerships include not only concern about the immediate well-being of the citizens and their social security, but also joint work for a peaceful future. It is also important to further the dialogue between the two German states in this process. What is decisive for the dialogue is the mutual respect as sovereign partners, Rita Ahrens said in her reply to Helmut Kohl.

Later, toward the press, the chancellor drew up a positive balance sheet of FRG-GDR relations since Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG. "We have done good and sensible work during the past few years," Kohl noted. There have been lively and intensive contacts between him and the chairman of the GDR State Council during the preparations for Honecker's visit to the FRG and during their meeting in Moscow, Kohl said.

Concerning the sister city agreements, which are in the interest of both sides, Kohl is in favor of a peaceful development between the two states. "This is the best we can do together," he emphasized. Kohl pointed to the growing number of visitors from the GDR to the FRG, which will reach the level of 20 million by 1990.

In response to a journalist's, question, Chancellor Kohl praised the joint communique of 1987 as the basis for the work between the two states. Concerning the state of relations, he noted that there are some areas that are developing better and others that are not doing so well, and that certain fields suffer setbacks every now and then. Irrespective of this, one has to proceed gradually and implement the joint communique, Chancellor Kohl concluded.

Further Reportage on Nemeth Visit to Moscow

Delivers Dinner Speech

AU0603152689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at a dinner given in his honor by Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov in Moscow, on 3 March: "Miklos Nemeth: Our Countries Are Linked Together by Thousands of Ties]"

[Text] I accepted happily and with gratitude the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. I prepared for this meeting with great expectations.

My visit forms part of the tradition of meetings between the heads of the Soviet and Hungarian Governments, but I have the feeling that neither the conditions of our epoch nor the subject and spirit of these talks can be termed traditional. The history of these days and the ordinary days of our history are characterized to a much greater extent by the break with many bad traditions. This break is painful, but new things have always been born out of pain.

We are all witnesses to, and alongside this, active participants in how a turning point is currently being reached in destinies and in how history is being formed. You and we Hungarians want to move from this standstill and embark in the direction of creating a model of socialism that is capable of renewal.

Modernization now requires an all-embracing reform of socialism. This is equally essential for both the peoples of the Soviet Union and Hungary. The main desire of the Hungarian leadership is to join the nation together around the program of reforms that is aimed at creating a new socialist model in Hungary.

As head of government, I am striving to ensure our ability for action and in uniting those forces that advocate reforms. There are such forces in society, in the party, and in various political organizations. Only the creation of a center devoted to reforms can prevent the polarization of forces, disunity, and the creation of parties that would be an end in itself.

It is my conviction that modernization can only be ensured by acting in an organized manner and by following the reform path to the end. On this path I see huge opportunities for strengthening Hungarian-Soviet ties and our alliance. I see opportunities for ensuring the creation, both in Hungary and in the Soviet Union, of independent socialist models that reflect the specific character of peoples and nations, the possibility of implementing a reform of political, economic, cultural, and military ties between socialist countries; and of freeing our relations of any ballast that burdened them in in the past. I am certain that our peoples expect this of us; and this expectation commits us to cooperation, reforms, and renewal.

Almost all the CEMA member states are striving for renewal and for social and economic modernization. Our countries are bound together by a thousand threads. If we want to go forward together, we must also change together and jointly restructure the mechanism of CEMA cooperation. We all feel, know, and see that the present system of cooperation and the resources it uses no longer properly serve the development of the individual CEMA member states, and that this is halting the formation of genuine integration. Under conditions where real prices, exchange rates, and a convertible currency are absent, we cannot utilize the potentialities that we possess. We are fighting against a shortage of goods, and we are unable to satisfy the needs of the people at the same time that we possess an untapped intellectual potential and production capacities. We all need each other's goods, and at the same time we are not satisfying those needs. We are making our market more narrow instead of expanding it. And this, in turn, is leading to our being damaged instead of mutual benefiting under the current mechanism for cooperation. Therefore, we are firmly convinced that the mechanism of cooperation within the CEMA framework needs radical renewal. If we do not do this, confidence in the idea of mutually beneficial cooperation will decline both in our countries and in the eyes of the whole world. Therefore, swift practical measures are needed, and declarations will no longer be of assistance.

We must adapt to a changing world together, united and in cooperation with each other. Popular movements are gaining strength across the world, demanding independence, democracy, the solution of social problems, and social justice.

These desires must be reflected in our cooperation and in our joint search for a solution to global economic, food, energy, ecological, and demographic problems. There are no more closed societies on the threshold of the 3d millenium. Therefore, we, too, cannot isolate ourselves from things. It is necessary for us to open doors, and not just windows, to the outside world.

It is necessary for us to assimilate the values of countries with different social systems, while at the same time maintaining ourselves and our own values. We cannot copy any other model, insofar as we would receive a lifeless and sterile copy as a result. Nor can we proceed from nostalgia for the past, because one can only build on that basis a fragile and illusory world that would be pitilessly swept away by the forces of history.

We must build a new world on the basis of our traditions.

The Hungarian people are full of a yearning for peace. We therefore welcome the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan under the Geneva accords. We also welcome the willingness of the Soviet Union—under the condition that the two military blocs are disbanded and that the principle of mutuality is observed—to withdraw its military units from the territory of the European socialist countries.

Together with the Soviet Union, we are willing, by implementing an independent course in foreign policy, to help ensure that the dynamics of the Helsinki process do not falter, that the common European home is built on reliable foundations, and that the disarmament process continues, embracing nuclear, chemical, and conventional armaments.

Our attention is to a large degree focused on solving the global problems, but we consider it natural that each people should seek their own place in the new world, cherish their own values, and fight for their own survival. We also consider the positive changes that have begun in the situation of the Hungarian minority living in the Soviet Union to be gratifying in this respect. Its possibilities are expanding in the sphere of culture, education, and information. Its collective interests are being increasingly represented, and there is wider cooperation in the frontier zones. These are vivid steps testifying to a sincere friendship. These are changes for the better which, if they become a stable trend, will be capable of opening up new resources for the strengthening of friendship between our peoples.

We do not know what sort of world we will be living in in the next century, but we know what sort of world we would like it to be. We think it will be a world in which man will be able to live; one in which the environment will no longer perish; and one in which man will think and act as nature's friend. He will use his remarkable intellect and creative energy not to make weapons with which to destroy human beings, but rather in the name of the flourishing of the personality.

The shape of the world will be determined not by warring ideologies and military blocs confronting each other, but rather by cooperation for the sake of the universal interests of mankind. That will be the base on which the quest for paths of prosperity for particular peoples and nations will proceed.

Such a world would have been considered Utopian a few years ago. Immense merit also belongs to the changes that have been taking place in the Soviet Union and to the renewal of Soviet foreign policy strategy, in that an excellent world has today become reality. If one is to follow that line, then a truly historic opportunity is opening up before humanity to resolve global world problems, and simultaneously to eliminate the opposing military blocs and to make it unnecessary for troops to remain on foreign territory. The creation of such an opportunity is a historic step in itself, and the realization of it may be something that signifies a turn in the destiny of all humanity.

Our efforts should be measured alongside the scale of the goal that we have outlined. We know that the countries of the world are not playing an identical role in solving this task, for their opportunities, role, and influence in the world are not equal. But we are convinced that each country should utilize its opportunities to the utmost. We perceive and highly value the fact that powers capable of having a decisive influence on the destinies of humanity have set out along the road that leads to the creation of a world that the peoples would like to see. We intend to proceed together with them, to be helpers in this, and to make every possible contribution to this mammoth cause.

We are convinced that these desires will be crowned with success, and that humanity will enter the 3d millenium as a community of peaceful peoples and nations who cooperate with each other, who respect their own values and the values of others.

In conclusion, M. Nemeth wished Comrade Ryzhkov and the Soviet friends good health, and he spoke in favor of strengthening fraternal friendship, of success for restructuring in the USSR and the reforms in the Hungarian People's Republic, and in favor of the cause of peace and socialism.

'Joint' Communique Issued

AU0603152989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Mar 89 p 3

[Communique on the 2-3 March working visit to Moscow by Premier Miklos Nemeth: "Joint Communique"]

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, was in the Soviet Union 2-3 March on a working visit, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received M. Nemeth and had a friendly conversation with him.

Talks took place between Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Nemeth, during which the attention was focused on topical questions of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and Hungary; the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral cooperation; and most important international problems.

N. Ryzhkov informed M. Nemeth of the practical steps to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, about the restructuring processes which

have gotten under way in the country, and about preparations for elections of USSR people's deputies, which are intended to become a major landmark on the road to the revolutionary renewal of society.

It was stressed that restructuring principally means a new social and economic policy, the core of which is the social reorientation of the economy, raising well-being, and improving the lives of Soviet people. Special attention during the implementation of radical economic reform is being paid to priority directions in developing the national economy and first and foremost to questions of scientific and technological progress.

M. Nemeth spoke in detail of the development of democratization and renewal in Hungary, of the efforts being made by the MSZMP Central Committee and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to bring about a cardinal reform of economic life and the system of political institutions, and of the decisions of the plenums of the party Central Committee held in February of this year. It was noted that the main task is to create the conditions necessary for the implementation of social and economic stabilization and the moral renewal of the country. The MSZMP as the leading force of society acts as the initiator of the extensive development of democratic processes within the country. In order to perform the tasks facing Hungarian society it is essential to create a new national concensus on the basis of responsibility for the destiny of the country and of socialist constitutionality.

The Soviet side expressed profound gratitude for the sincere condolences, comradely sympathy, and selfless aid provided by Hungarian organizations and citizens in connection with the tragedy which befell Soviet Armenia.

Those taking part in the talks noted, after expressing their satisfaction with the harmony of the policies of renewal being conducted in both countries, that close and intensive contacts typified by mutual understanding and trust, interest in one another's successes, and an attitude of respect toward that practice of restructuring and reform within the framework of socialist construction which is determined by specific national conditions, are maintained between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic.

The heads of government analyzed how the realization of the accords reached during the meetings and conversations between M.S. Gorbachev and K. Grosz was progressing, and noted that on the whole they are being fulfilled. The sides confirmed their mutual readiness to make additional efforts to deepen and further improve economic cooperation between the two countries, which is of a multifaceted character and is mutually advantageous.

The importance of the work carried out in coordinating the national economic plans of the USSR and Hungary was stressed. The appropriate organs of the USSR and Hungary, in the course of this work, were charged with paying particular attention to improving the mechanism and methods of coordinating the plans—taking into consideration the decisions of the 43d and 44th sessions of CEMA, the economic reforms being carried out in both countries, and the role of incentives for enterprises and commodity-money relations—to improving the structure of Soviet-Hungarian economic links, to raising the technical level and quality of the goods supplied to each other, and to the development of specialization and coordination in production.

The sides agreed to make additional efforts to balance accounts between the USSR and Hungary in the period 1989-1990, including by increasing deliveries from the USSR.

The measures taken by the intergovernmental Soviet-Hungarian commission, aimed at improving the economic mechanism of bilateral cooperation, were approved. In this connection, it was agreed to make the necessary efforts so that in the period of the new 5-year plan, economic links between the two countries might develop on the basis of the new mechanism of cooperation, which would be real on all levels.

It was noted that significant work had been carried out by ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, and organizations of both countries to develop new forms of production and scientific and technical cooperation. Twenty joint enterprises in different branches of the national economy, 2 international associations, and 19 joint scientific collectives have been created; 240 pairs of Soviet and Hungarian enterprises and organizations are carrying on direct links. The sides paid attention to the need to raise the effectiveness of these forms of cooperation on the basis of providing enterprises and organizations with a direct incentive.

Certain concrete questions of economic cooperation were considered. The need was particulary noted to speed up the organization of cooperation in the construction of a new line of the subway in Budapest, and in matters connected with the building, with the assistance of the USSR, of million-kw hour power sets, in order to expand the Paks nuclear power station.

N. Ryzhkov and M. Nemeth exchanged views on the course of implementing the decisions of the 44th CEMA session, the restructuring of the mechanism, content, and forms of multilateral cooperation, socialist economic integration, and the work of the council. It was noted that the advantages emerging from the international socialist division of labor within the framework of CEMA are an important factor in the development of the national economies of the Soviet Union and Hungary.

The sides welcomed the establishment of contacts between CEMA and the EEC, pointing to its great political significance. This opens up prospects for

broader economic and scientific and technological cooperation between these organizations and for their contribution to the building of the economic foundations of an "pan-European home."

The importance was stressed of Soviet-Hungarian ties in the area of ideology, science and culture, and the significance of the comprehensive program for the perfection of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the MSZMP which was signed in November 1988 in Budapest.

Satisfaction was expressed over jointly adopted measures aimed at developing tourism and fulfilling the intergovernmental agreement on simplifying the procedure for crossing the state border by persons living in border regions of the USSR and Hungary, which facilitates further expansion of contacts between citizens of the two countries.

The Hungarian side placed a high value on the fact that the Hungarian national minority living in the Soviet Union has, in accordance with the principles of Lenin's policy on the nationalities, ever better opportunities to satisfy its requirements in the development of language and culture and in implementing public activities.

In the discussion of international problems, N. Ryzhkov and M. Nemeth reiterated the fundamental unity of the sides' views in assessing the situation in Europe and the world. It was noted that important qualitative changes have recently been taking place in international relations; the necessity and opportunity for establishing a constructive and full East-West dialogue and for raising the level of mutual trust have been clearly revealed; and the tendency to solve complex international problems by political means is becoming established. These positive moves are convincing evidence of the fact that the new political thinking is producing ever more visible results in the matter of improving the international climate, strengthening universal peace and security, and advancing along the road of genuine disarmament.

The Hungarian side placed a high value on the speech by M.Gorbachev at the United Nations in December 1988 and the wide-scale initiatives put forward in it.

It was particularly noted that by announcing unilateral armed force and armament cuts and the withdrawal of some Soviet troops from the territories of several allied countries, including Hungary, the Soviet Union once again reiterated its commitment to the cause of peace and confidence building. In the spirit of its determination to take an active part in implementing the Soviet proposals and to facilitate in every way the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, the Government of Hungary has adopted the decision to reduce military expenditure and to reduce staff numbers and armaments of the Hungarian People's Army.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the unilateral steps which have been undertaken by the USSR, Hungary, and other allied socialist countries to reduce armaments and armed forces in Europe create favorable conditions for resolving the questions of practical disarmament on the continent and for reaching mutually acceptable accords on a substantial lowering of the level of military confrontation from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The heads of government rated positively the results of the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE member states and stressed that it will go down in the history of international relations as an important milestone in the ongoing development of the all-European process. They welcomed the upcoming opening of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and the resumption of the talks on confidence- and security-building measures.

The USSR and Hungary advocate the further enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations as a unique international forum and center for the coordination of states' actions and the development of dialogue on an all-embracing approach to the strengthening of international peace and security.

The Soviet Union and Hungary expressed a readiness to deepen, expand, and improve foreign policy cooperation for the dynamic development of the Helsinki process and the building of the "all-European home" and for the sake of establishing peace in our world.

Both sides believe that the talks, which were held in a warm and comradely atmosphere, have helped to strengthen the friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR and Hungary and between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples.

Romanian Diplomat Launches 'Savage Onslaught'

LD0603234289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] A leading Romanian diplomat has launched a savage onslaught against Hungary. At the session of the UN Human Rights Committee, Gheorghe Dolgu, head of the Bucharest delegation, said that Hungary is crudely interfering in Romanian internal affairs.

Taking a stand for human rights can hardly disguise Hungary's revisionist efforts, the dreams attached to the return of the past; but the past never returns, the diplomat said literally. In his contribution he merged the anti-Romanian sins of the Horthy regime with the, according to him, current Hungarian revisionism.

He particularly recalled the fact that Otto Habsburg recently visited Budapest. After his visit, many people are again dreaming about the creation of Great Hungary, Dolgu remarked.

Horn Discusses State of Romanian Relations

LD0603222889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Studio interview with Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs, on the "Panorama" program by unidentified presenter—live or recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] To date, we have spoken at international forums only in general terms about the violation of human rights. What justified, what made it necessary for you in Geneva to criticize specifically, by name and address, the nationality policy of the Romanian Government?

[Horn] Primarily because the UN Human Rights Commission deals specifically with the human rights situation that has taken shape in individual countries. So this topic was cut out for the forum. The other thing is that a Swedish proposal was made there earlier.

[Presenter] What is the gist of it?

[Horn] The gist of this Swedish proposal is that the United Nations should send two special envoys to investigate the violation of human rights in Romania. How do we play our part if we do not support such a proposal, with which we agree, by speaking specifically, in this connection, about the Romanian nationality problems?

[Presenter] At any rate, the Romanian reaction to your speech was extremely sharp. It accused the Hungarian side of irredentism, of our having joined some kind of anti-Romanian campaign, and also that the Hungarian Government speaks so sharply about the Transylvanian problem to divert attention from internal problems.

[Horn] As regards the first part, I believe that we have stated innumerable times that the Hungarian Government does not and will not have territorial, revisionist ambitions, requirements, or demands. The second is that not merely is the situation not improving, but it is deteriorating, and this directly affects the Magyars, the Magyar nation.

[Presenter] Can we say that the efforts for a settlement have reached a dead-end?

[Horn] As of last fall there has been virtually no kind of new development on a bilateral basis. Our proposals and efforts to try to change something in the existing situation have been fruitless.

So there is no question of our having some kind of irredentist demands. It is downright ridiculous that we should want to divert attention from our internal problems. We deal as openly with our internal problems—whether it is the reform of the political system or the economic situation—as with the international issues and problems that concern us.

[Presenter] The surrounding and more distant countries do not react in the same way to the Romanian-Hungarian tension. I am thinking, here, primarily, of the Warsaw Pact member states which, I could say, are overly cautious in taking a stand. What is the reason for this?

[Horn] In my opinion many things have to be changed, even within the Warsaw Pact, in the spirit of the processes of renewal which are taking place in the Soviet Union and several other socialist countries. In my view sooner or later the situation will ripen for (?us) to deal genuinely with such problems. Maybe what is also at work here is that the Pact member states strive to avoid every topic or issue that could introduce some kind of tension into the organization's operation.

[Presenter] Is the bad Romanian-Hungarian relationship not such a source of tension?

[Horn] Well, the bad Romanian-Hungarian relationship is by all means a source of tension, but not one that would shake the Warsaw Pact to its foundation.

[Presenter] Do we have some kind of long-term plan, strategy, in connection with the Magyars living abroad, mainly next-door? This comes to mind in connection with some publications that say that several countries are delaying taking a stand because they are preparing, a bit, for the post-Ceausescu period, and they do not want to ruin the relationship with Romania.

[Horn] As regards the latter, I do not know who counts on what, and how he wants to shape its policy. As regards the first part of the question, in connection with Romania we have submitted an enormous number of proposals most recently which concern the situation of the Magyars there and an improvement of bilateral relations, in general. All of these have been fruitless. The Romanian side has shown the same conduct as, for example, what it showed before the Arad summit conference, that it is not even willing to talk—not come to agreement, but talk—about topics except in the economic sphere.

[Presenter] What could be the result of the international isolation of Romania, because that, in the final analysis, is what we would like to achieve with such a movement of solidarity?

[Horn] I would like to stress that we are not striving for the international isolation of Romania. We are striving for the following: the basic precept is that our bilateral talks have not yielded results, the situation of Magyars in Romania is deteriorating. At the same time, Romania is a member of the inernational agreements and conventions that stipulate precisely the contrary, that is, the full ensuring of the rights of nationality, religious and other minorities. And no country, including Romania, can disregard these conventions. This has to be emphasized,

not primarily because it is a Hungarian-Romanian matter, but because it is one of universal international norms and expectations, and one of respecting these. Of course, what brings it closer to us is that the fate, existence of more than, or approximately 2 million Magyars is in question in neighboring Romania. That is why we raise these issues here and at an international forum.

[Presenter] Thank you for the interview.

Views Upcoming Vienna Arms Talks

LD0603232489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Studio interview with Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs, from the second part of the "Panorama" program by unidentified presenter—live or recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] I am speaking with State Secretary Gyula Horn [word indistinct] will Hungary constantly be a proving ground for the reduction in conventional armed forces? Can we make proposals for the withdrawal of further Soviet troop units?

[Horn] As regards whether or not it will be a constant proving ground, the following should be taken into account: the substantive discussions of the Vienna talks have not even begun. That is where the types of zones in which disarmament should be dealt with has to be drawn up. We are of the view that since Hungary is a Central European state, by all means we should be included in this category, in the zone of primary reduction. In this sense, we can be a proving ground.

As regards the withdrawal of Soviet troops, there is no change in our standpoint, in this regard. Namely, here, the standpoint continues to prevail that this must be incorporated in the framework of the entire European disarmament process. That is, the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in territory abroad, in Europe, must be accomplished as a result of this.

[Presenter] What chances are there that the West will soon respond, with similar measures to these unilateral ones which primarily the Soviet Union has taken to date?

[Horn] I cannot predict this. By the way, I consider the following to be more important: the Warsaw Pact has gone to the Vienna talks by publishing a package which contains the most important indicators pertaining to the Warsaw Pact's conventional force. However, last weekend, it was announced by NATO that we should begin the phase of talks, not by exchanging data, but by trying to form, establish, jointly, the ceilings to whose level the current armed forces must be lowered, first and foremost the devices which are suited to attacks, for example tanks and so forth.

Thus, the disarmament talks are beginning with two such concepts; I have to say that possibly the two will come together, because in my personal opinion what NATO has submitted is by all means sympathetic from the viewpoint that it forestalls the debate, whose length would be very difficult to predict, which would take place over the authenticity of the data.

For me, from Hungary's viewpoint the following must be achieved in Vienna: the first things is, as I have mentioned, we must get into the Central European category. This is an entirely just claim. The other thing is that the military burdens of the Warsaw Pact, and of course those of Hungary, should considerably decrease as a result of the talks. The third thing is that we should achieve a result in Vienna which creates the international basis so that we can develop, or create, an army in Hungary which would operate with essentially fewer force numbers, with more modern weapons, and at the same time with a professional, regular army structure. Thus, in Hungary, as well, it, the entire structure and level of the Hungarian Army would be transformed basically—but I say that the international basis for this have to be created in Vienna.

CSSR's Jozef Lenart Begins Working Visit

Arrives 3 Mar

LD0303154289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, arrived by air in Budapest today for a working visit. Shortly after his arrival, he began talks with Pal Ivanyi, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, especially about the possibilities of further expanding mutual relations.

Meets With Karoly Grosz

LD0303180789 Budapest MTI in English 1556 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, Mar 3 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and secretary of the Central Committee, in Budapest on Friday.

During the cordial, comradely meeting, Mr Lenart gave details of the preparations for the conference to be held in Prague from March 6-7 when the Central Committee secretaries responsible for economic policy issues of the CMEA member countries will come together.

Mr Grosz supported the organization of the conference, and stressed Hungary's interest in substantively transforming CMEA cooperation. "We consider it desirable for the fraternal parties to make a joint effort to ensure the necessary conditions," Mr Grosz said.

Talks With Ivany; Departs

LD0303201189 Prague CTK in English
1818 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest Mar 3 (CTK correspondent)—General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Karoly Grosz received here today Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart.

In a cordial and comradely debate they informed each other of the course of restructuring and reforms in their countries and discussed the possibilities of the further extension of cooperation between the two parties. They laid special stress on the significance of the international division of labour and the socialist economic integration. They also exchanged views on the tasks of the two parties in the implementation of their latest congresses.

Jozef Lenart, who paid a working visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, also met today for talks with Hungarian party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Pal Ivany.

The Czechoslovak official left Budapest for home later in the day.

Rezso Nyers Meets European Parliament Group

LD0103233189 Budapest MTI in English
2117 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—"We think that social democracy is a lasting value of European political life," State Minister Rezso Nyers, member of the HSWP Political Committee, said during his talks with the delegation of the European Parliament. The MP group organized under the legislation of the European Communities, is led by Belgian politician Paul Staes. Otto Habsburg is also a member of the delegation.

In the course of answering the questions of the Western European visitors, Rezso Nyers said that the ideology of the HSWP had been based on two major components, the traditional values of social democracy and the most enduring endeavours of communism. As the Social Democratic Party that has recently been revived, the HSWP also acknowledges its social democratic heritage, regarding itself as partly a social democratic party. Mr Nyers claimed that there was no anti-reform wing among the top leaders of the HSWP, yet within the whole of the party there are signs of anti-reform thinking. These fundamentalists are, however, few in number. He says it is a vital issue that the majority of the party membership has already embarked on the road of reform politics from that of conservative thinking. Within the government, there is no overt opposition to reform, but doubts exist about the effectiveness of the endeavours.

Mr Nyers called himself a reformer communist who - although not accepting all of Lenin's ideas - aims to blend Leninism with social democratic values, such as democratic commitment, a claim to parliamentarism, and a view that market economy should be controlled by a well-considered social policy. He thinks the reasons that split the workers' movement have now become obsolete. It is therefore the communists who should impose a greater degree of revision of their politics and ideology.

On issues of international politics Rezso Nyers said Hungary should remain in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. However, in future, our relations with the allies are to be interpreted in terms of military commitment simultaneously with independent political decision-making.

Mr Nyers noted on the economic situation of Hungary that the current restrictionist policy and the stringent financial measures are not identical with the economic reform, but are merely its vestibule, and aim at regaining equilibrium. This, however, imposes great burdens on the population and it is a policy that cannot be pursued longer than two years. Mr Nyers considers society should support the policy of reform so it is not halted by the grim economic situation.

Otto Habsburg asked the minister what kind of help the European Communities can give Hungary over the issue of the Transylvanian refugees. Mr Nyers replied that he attributed the greatest importance to moral support, as well as the political.

In the interval between the talks, MTI asked Otto Habsburg what he felt on hearing Mr Nyer's announcement, that the Hungarian Government intends to remove the technical installments of the frontiers with Yugoslavia and Austria. "Thank God, this is now official. The decision reflects the new spirit that nowadays prevails in this country," replied Otto Habsburg.

The Austrian and the Hungarian capitals could be connected by "bridges to the future" according to the joint slogan of the Vienna-Budapest World Expo. When asked for his opinion about the project, Otto Habsburg said that it was a good idea which should be carried out. The common world expo would be advantageous to both sides. The frequent objection that the enterprise would impose too great a strain on Hungary in its current eocnomic crisis, was countered by: "that will depend on the organization and the management. World expos and Olympics that had been organized well all yielded profit. Bad organization can, however, lead to disaster. I trust that the well-known ingenuity of the Hungarians will bring real advantages to the country in the long run."

"Political considerations weigh more than the economic," said Otto Habsburg in support of the Vienna-Budapest World Expo. He considers it an absurdity that while Austria is a Western European country, Hungary

or for example Czechoslovakia count as Eastern European. "Central Europeanism? Yes, it does exist, of course, and this is where the future lies", he concluded.

After the interval, Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, continued talks with the European parliamentary delegation. The conversation mostly focussed on the changing role of the People's Front as defined by the new conditions of a potential multi-party system. Istvan Huszar underlined the importance of a new brand of People's Front. He said that its role of a "servicing enterprise of public law", as reflected for example by the system of setting up candidates for parliament should be abandoned. The Patriotic People's Front should become an independent political association, a real political movement, but not a "party of non-party members".

The delegation of the European Parliament also met with Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who gave a comprehensive briefing on the main objectives of Hungary's foreign policy, with special regard to the expansion of our relations with the Western European integration. The visitors raised numerous questions about the range of Hungarian foreign policy and the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania. They also talked about the common and individual endeavours the member states of the European Communities want to take in order to make Romania observe human rights. As a Belgian member of the delegation said, towns and villages of Belgium want to become twin towns and villages of the Romanian settlements sentenced to be demolished.

Berecz Speech Opens Central Committee Session

LD0703095689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee has begun its session. In his speech, Secretary Janos Berecz emphasized that the party demands a clear, understandable, and practical political program. He declared that the kind of action plan required is one based on long-term effort, but capable of dealing with the short term. In the interests of the Hungarian nation, this program would undertake to embody the MSZMP's most important goals, which are freedom, justice, and solidarity. The MSZMP wants to promote these concepts, as they focus on the individual. It aims at personal independence and human rights, and it sees democracy as the way to achieve these goals, said Janos Berecz at the MSZMP Central Committee session, adding that these concepts can be perfected only through the development of socialism.

Politburo Meets on Party's 'Action' Program

AU0203133089 Budapest MTI in English 2252 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 28/02/1989—HSWP Political Committee held a session on Tuesday [28 February]. The body convened the next session of the Central Committee for March 7.

The Political Committee discussed the draft of the HSWP's action programme, which proposes that the party prepare for the coming elections as a party upholding the values of freedom, justice and solidarity. The future party will be characterized by a blend of communist reform and a growing spirit of social democracy. It aims to realize democratic socialism. The body decided to put forward the draft of its manifesto to the next session of the Central Committee. The PC also discussed a report on the position of the Hungarian People's Army, and is to propose that the CC put the party's defence policy on the agenda in the second half of 1989.

It also dealt with the question of the border guard. The PC suggests that from 1991 on, both the border 'printline' (a stretch of earth on which footprints can easily be detected) and the electronic signalling device should gradually be eliminated from Hungary's borders.

Karoly Grosz briefed the session about his talks in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The Political Committee stated that the Prague talks had contributed to the development of problem-free political cooperation between the CPC and the HSWP, that is Czechoslovakia and the Hungarian People's Republic, in addition to reinforcing the atmosphere of confidence and understanding. The Yugoslavian meeting was a step in the direction of getting a more accurate picture of the other side's situation. It was agreed that in future, more emphasis should be put on meetings between leaders who can really improve cooperation.

After the Political Committee session, the spokesman said that the talks had also underlined that the balanced and successful building of socialism in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was in Hungary's strategic interest. The states Mr Grosz visited were thoroughly familiar with the Hungarian changes, and did not express anxiety about or objection to the political and economic reforms going on here. Both countries did have some questions, though. The chief aim of the visits was to answer these questions and clear up ambiguities.

The general secretary and his entourage found that both Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia showed a willingness to find humane solutions to the problems of the Hungarian minorities, ensure their cultural development and preserve their national character, as well as uphold their artistic values. Hungarian and Yugoslav experts are jointly preparing a manifesto on minority questions to be approved at a later date.

Transport Minister Derzsi Returns From Israel

LD0303204289 Budapest MTI in English 1815 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, Mar 3 (MTI)—The delegation led by Andras Derzsi, minister of transport, communications and construction, which paid an official visit to Israel at the invitation of Israeli Transport Minister, Moshe Katzav, between February 28 and March 3, has just returned to Hungary.

During the visit, the Hungarian minister and Moshe Arens, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, signed a bilateral inter-governmental air transport agreement. Under its terms, regular flights will connect Budapest with Tel Aviv from the end of March on. Flights in both directions will at first operate once a week, but this will be increased to twice a week. The two sides expect that this would satisfy the increasing demands of tourism. (The rise in air traffic is probably also due to the fact that the 300,000 Israeli citizens of Hungarian descent wish to visit their relations more frequently.)

In addition to the air transport agreement, Mr Derzsi also signed a general agreement to promote scientific and technical cooperation between the ministries, companies and institutions of the two countries in the field of transport. The Hungarian delegation also had talks with top officials at the Israeli Ministry of Construction and Housing. Mr Derzsi also met Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir.

Patriotic People's Front President Resigns 3 Mar

LD0303201389 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, Mar 3 (MTI)—Gyula Kallai, president of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front (PPF) has tendered his resignation after several decades in the president's chair.

The PPF National Council is to discuss his request at its Monday session.

Replacement Process Discussed

LD0603201689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] The PPF has no chairman from today until the next congress. The work of Gyula Kallai, who has left the post, will be assumed by the organization's deputy chairmen. The PPF National Council considers it possible that parliament will choose its new chairman from several candidates to replace Istvan Stadinger, who will probably leave his post as National Assembly speaker on Wednesday [8 March].

The National Council can envisage the renewal of the People's Front only on the basis of socialism, but it distances itself completely from the Stalinist model of organizing society.

Council Accepts Resignation

LD0603233989 Budapest MTI in English 2205 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, Mar 6 (MTI)—At its session on Monday, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front approved the resignation of Gyula Kallai from his post as president. The body also decided it would not nominate a new president, and the congress to be brought ahead to autumn will decide about the person of the president.

The agenda of the conference featured discussion on the draft programme aimed at renewing the movement, entitled "What Does the Patriotic People's Front Want?" In this context, General Secretary Istvan Huszar stressed in his contribution that the Patriotic People's Front supports a political system in which genuine pluralism is enforced, on a multiparty basis. The Patriotic People's Front should operate as a social federation independent of the political parties, the general secretary said.

Several contributors to the debate supported the part of the draft programme according to which the People's Front wishes to initiate—as a lesson of 1956—that death penalties not be passed, or death sentences not executed ever again because of political activity.

A proposal was also heard according to which the People's Front should initiate that only the red-white-and-green flags should fly on March 15, the greatest Hungarian national holiday, and that the red banner of the international workers' movement not be raised on this holiday.

In the end, the session was not capable of voting, thus the body could not approve the draft programme. The proposal will again be submitted to the National Council between the end of March and mid-April, by taking the views and proposals of the current session into consideration.

The body set up a nominating committee for the president of the National Assembly, and the constitution committee of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front.

PPF Official Huszar Departs on Moscow Visit

AU0203105289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Feb 89 p 8

[Text] A PPF delegation led by Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the PPF National Council, left for Moscow on 23 February, at the invitation of the Federation of Soviet Friendship Societies. Also present at the airport farewell was Ambassador Vladlen Puntus, adviser to the Soviet Embassy in Budapest.

SZOT Body Suspends Trade Union Statutes

LD0603224589 Budapest MTI in English 2152 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—At its session on Monday, the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) suspended the statutes of the Hungarian trade unions currently in force, in the interest of realizing the switch to an alliance system. The bodies of the

trade unions will continue to operate in the spirit of the guidelines approved at the national conference in December, until the new basic document is worked out.

It was agreed to appeal to the members to set up their basic organizations in the course of the now beginning trade union elections on the basis of the principles that best accord to their interests in form, profession, employment or workplace. They should also decide on joining the national, sectoral and professional organizations.

The congress of the trade unions will be held by next February at the latest, and this will also be the founding congress of the national federation.

We want trade unions that carry out genuine interest protection and which are independent of the political parties, and are shaped according to the views of the members, stressed SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy, in his contribution to the appeal and the guidelines. He noted: The trade unions do not wish to further aggravate the country's current, difficult economic situation with unrealistic demands, an irresponsible, demagogic stand.

In connection with the strike law under preparation, Mr Nagy said: The trade unions consider the law acceptable only in case it ensures the possibility of a solidarity strike, and if in case an agreement is reached with the employer, for wages to be paid for the duration of the strike. Pal Csikos, secretary of SZOT, informed the participants that at the next discussions between the government and the trade unions, expected to be held this month, the trade unions will request further compensation from the government. As the prices rose in a greater degree than the earlier agreement between the government and SZOT, the trade unions shall propose to further increase the pensions and family allowances. In totality, realization of the further proposals of the trade unions would require some 5,000 million forints, which would provide assistance to 4.5-5 million people in some form.

Bilateral Trade With USSR Decreases

LD0603201589 Budapest MTI in English
1327 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, Mar 6, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—1988 was the first year in Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation to see a decline in bilateral trade.

Bilateral delieveries amounted to 9.4 billion roubles, 3 per cent less than in 1987. The Soviet Union exported to Hungary 4.5 billion roubles worth of goods, 2 per cent less than in 1987. Hungarian exports amounted to 4.9 billion roubles, 4 per cent less than in 1987, said Mikhail S. Kozin, economic counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Hungary, at a press conference on Monday.

With further decrease envisaged, the 1989 trade protocol stipulates a turnover of 9 billion roubles with Soviet export to Hungary to reach 4.4 billion roubles.

The two countries' economic cooperation produced a Hungarian surplus of 500 million roubles last year, which the Soviet side intends to reduce through larger car deliveries and more involvement in Hungarian projects like the building of the underground in Budapest, and the expansion of mines (including the Recsk copper mine), Mr Kozin said.

On the strength of the two country's trade protocol, this year the Soviet Union is to deliver to Hungary 39,500 cars, as compared to 32,000 last year. Together with arrears from last year, 46,000 Soviet cars are to come to Hungary this year.

Ruthenian Cultural Federation Founded

AU0303135289 Budapest MTI in English
0932 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 01/03/1989—The Hungarian Cultural Federation of Ruthenia has held its founding session in Uzhgorod.

The Federation aims at safeguarding, fostering and furthering the culture and national traditions of the Hungarian minority, and at related interest protection.

The general assembly was addressed by the territorial representat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and by Pavlo Chuchka, president of the Ruthenian territorial organization of the Ukranian mother-tongue federation named after Taras Shevchenko. He ensured support to the Federation.

The Federation considers as members all those Soviet and foreign citizens, irrespective of world outlook and national affiliation, who recognize the statutes and participate in the realization of its goals.

According to the position of the representative of the newspaper "KARPATI IGAZ SZO" (true carpathian word) at the founding session, the territorial council and party daily will publish the statutes approved at the Federation's general assembly.

Sandor Fodo, professor at Uzhgorod State University, was unanimously and with open vote elected president of the Federation.

Roundtable Teams Continue Meetings, Debates

LD0603125589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Today is another day in the roundtable deliberations in the Palace of the Council of Ministers. Participants of the team for trade union pluralism met at 1000. [passage omitted]

Also at 1000, the team for economy and social policy began its third meeting. Disagreements which emerged during the talks of particular subteams—those for ecology, housing construction, agriculture, mining, science and education, and health—will be presented. Reportedly, the opposition side will demand that the authorities take an unequivocal stand on the issues connected with the indexation as well as the issue of workers' self-management. The future of the Gdansk Lenin shipyard will also surely be addressed.

Today in the Palace of the Council of Ministers a subteam for youth is also holding a meeting.

Trade Union Pluralism Team Co-Chairmen Cited

LD0603231589 Warsaw PAP in English 2159 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—Following are excerpts of opinions voiced by co-chairmen of the roundtable team for trade unions' pluralism, Aleksander Kwasniewski, Romuald Sosnowski and Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Kwasniewski: Following discussions, including those in the working groups, we managed to arrive at many joint formulas...I believe that we shall formulate such a law which will provide room for various trade unions with the benefit for establishments and crews.

Sosnowski: We are of the opinion that we cannot "give away" anything that has been embodied in the Law on Trade Unions. I mean here trade unions' agreement in cases when most important decisions are being made.

Mazowiecki: We hear opinions that people at the roundtable only talk while the matters do not proceed. We try to make it otherwise. But at the same time prices are going up, this raises our concern and annoys people. The "roundtable" is made responsible for it, quite unreasonably. We are annoyed by such voices as today's article by the editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU daily, Jerzy Majka speaking of the unproductive negation on the part of opposition. This is only a sign of doggedness. It is unjust and does not serve the atmosphere of the "roundtable". I also reject as demagogy the attacks on Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Zofia Kuratowska carried in this article.

Sosnowski: I would like to join my predecessor and say that the constant movement of prices annoys society.

Kwasniewski: I would like to remind you that the "roundtable" debates did not arrest all social and economic processes in Poland. We are thinking what to do to improve the situation in Poland but at the same time economic reforms are implemented. Sometimes they are manifested in an unpleasant way, that is price hikes.

Roundtable Economic, Social Policy Team Meets

Team Co-Chairmen Interviewed

LD0603234889 Warsaw PAP in English 2307 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—On conclusion of the meeting of the roundtable's team for economy and social policy PAP put the following question to its co-chairmen: What is the chance for a quick listing of the problems agreed and, by this, responding to the appeal of Kiszczak and Walesa?

Ireneusz Sekula: We are trying to respond positively to the appeal. Without waiting for the conclusion of work by all the working groups we have drafted another version of the social accord for today's meeting. It links the government's proposals of two weeks ago and the proposals made by the opposition-Solidarity side a week ago.

The approximation of views on some issues will need extensive systemic solutions. Apart from that, just as not all our proposals are acceptable to the opposition-Solidarity side, not all proposals of that side are acceptable to us. Therefore, there will certainly be a protocol of disagreements and we now want to make it possibly short and offering possibilities to carry n the work. I think agreement on economic questions is not very remote and, in case we succeed, we shall call the achievements of our team satisfactory.

Witold Trzeciakowski: I keep being a pessimist for the time being. The government side has submitted a document which is the 3rd version preceding the final text. Although a number of paragraphs have been used in our wording, the eloquence of the whole text is unacceptable to us.

First, there is no agreement on wages indexation. Second, the problem involved is to change the anti-inflation philosophy. We think the government side chooses a policy which is too liberal. The third controversial point is the omission of our proposals concerning anti-monopoly measures. Generally, consensus is rather far away.

Agreement on Regulation Wording

LD0603233189 Warsaw PAP in English 2147 GMT 6 Mar 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—Speaking of the just drafted text of social accord discussed by the Monday meeting of the roundtable's economy and social policy team, Ryszard Bugaj representing the opposition-Solidarity side told

journalists here today that the text is "surely a regress in relation to what we thought we had reached by previous negotiation." He added that the question of wages indexation and protection of people against the consequences of inflation is a sensitive issue.

"These questions have been reduced to a minimum in the submitted draft which is unacceptable to our side," Bugaj stressed. He observed that the whole text is full of wordings which raise doubts.

Among optimistic accents of today's meeting Bugaj mentioned the standpoint of Minister Wilczek on mining industry and on the search for solutions permitting shorter working time of miners.

Lech Kaczynski, who represents the Solidarity-opposition side on the team for union pluralism said today's meeting reached agreement on wording of the new regulations of the law on trade unions also referred to as the small amendments. He called it an optimistic accent in the session.

OPZZ Criticizes Document

LD0603231389 Warsaw PAP in English
2102 GMT 6 Mar 89

[By Jerzy Redlich]

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—The document produced by the coalition-government side at the meeting of the economy and social policy team, which is a compilation of previous government proposals and proposals of the opposition- Solidarity side, was firmly criticised by OPZZ representatives, Waclaw Martyniuk told a press conference here today.

Martyniuk said that the document was a collection of slogans convergent with the general social and economic goals but not definite enough. It did not say which specific tasks and, especially, at which specific time they would be tackled. If a social accord is to result from the roundtable talks, then the public should be informed about the systems, mechanism, and regulations designed to lead to the given aims in a given time. Only then the citizens will know what to expect and whether he wants to and can identify himself with the social accord agreed during the talks.

Next, Martyniuk briefed journalists on OPZZ remarks as regards the document. The OPZZ demands more precision as to such definite issues in the social accord as, for example, the guarantee that every family gets an apartment by 1995, ensuring a permanent growth of individual consumption, at least a 10 per cent annual growth of durable goods supplies, growth of real wages and incomes, annual limiting by 20 per cent of the number of work posts which fail to meet safety standards.

Martyniuk also said that the OPZZ demands making all the economic sectors truly equal because, in his opinion, the socialised sector is clearly discriminated from the angle of law, taxes, etc., in comparison to the private and cooperative sectors.

Roundtable Subteam for Youth Holds Meeting

LD0603234389 Warsaw PAP in English
2320 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—Andrzej Celinski and Leszek Miller cochaired the debates of the roundtable subteam for youth which gathered at its third meeting here today.

On behalf of the coalition-government side, Slawomir Wiatr expressed satisfaction over the statement of the Lublin students, members of the NZS (Independent Students Union) in which they pledged to refrain from actions disturbing the public order during the "roundtable" debates.

Jan Maria Rokita told the meeting about an open letter to participants of the "roundtable" sent by students and academic workers of the Jagiellonian University in which they obliged themselves to restrict actions of political profile to the university campus only until the roundtable debates end.

The greatest differences of opinions concerned two matters: the scope of values forming the educational consensus and the possibility of functioning of scouts organizations other than the Polish Pathfinders Union (ZHP).

As concerns NZS, the discrepancies concerned conditions for starting up its legal activity. Speaking in general terms, the discussion proved that the coalition-government side was anxious to deal with the issues of the young generation, including pluralism of organizations, in systemic terms whle the opposition-Solidarity side was mainly for the immediate legalization of NZS and the so-called second pathfinders organization.

Co-Chairmen View Progress

LD0703023889 Warsaw PAP In English
2341 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—After the debates of the subteam for youth its co-chairmen told PAP:

Andrzej Celinski: Unfortunately, our stands have not approximated. It has turned out that our key postulate to allow youth to create organizations, unions and associations in line with their needs and for the realization of their own goals cannot be accepted by the coalition-government side in such a form which has been adopted for the roundtable, namely, of joint expression of political intentions. Without acceptance of this political posulate the legal decision cannot be taken.

Leszek Miller: It is rather hard to speak about rapprochment of stances as our partners persistently refuse to recognize values which we consider to be universal and which should provide basis of an educational process. They are: patriotism, social service, respect for national and state traditions, toleration for the outlooks on life, non-extension of political conflicts onto the sphere of upbringing of children and youth. Because of reasons unknown to me, these values are unacceptable for the opposition-Solidarity side. I cannot quite comment on it but I think that the face provides its own commentary.

Government Official on TV Reforms Team Talks

LD0703022389 Warsaw PAP in English
2337 GMT 6 Mar 89

[By Janusz Dworecki]

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—The debate of the team for union pluralism enters the phase of taking decisions, Leslaw Nawacki, vice-minister of labour and social policy representing the coalition-government side in the team told journalists here today.

We have closed an important stage of work which concerned amending the law on trade unions in its paragraphs permitting the registration of trade unions whose members are employed by many enterprises of various branches. We have also managed to pass through some questions concerning the equipping of the nationwide union with such powers as have been given to the OPZZ. These include the right to motion directly to the Council of State or Council of Ministers for changes in the union law or extraordinary appeals from the legally effective rulings in the field of labour law and social insurance.

Nawacki said discussion had started over the paragraph in the union law which pertains to the right to strike. The work is well advanced, he added.

This shows that in questions formulated in the beginning of the team's work agreements will be reached. Unfortunately, we may be late with some issues for the end of the roundtable, he concluded.

Democratic Party Spokesman on Roundtable Talks

LD0703023489 Warsaw PAP in English
2334 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—The Democratic Party [DP] CC Spokesman Adam Wysocki commenting on the to-date roundtable debates, including the ones held on Monday, has delivered the following statement:

"The Democratic Party perceives the need for a new political impulse to accelerate the winding up of debates of the roundtable teams. According to DP, the impulse should be originated by the whole three-party coalition PUWP [PZPR], UPP [ZSL], DP as well as by the opposition-Solidarity side."

Kazimierz Obsadny, participating in the debates of the team for trade union pluralism, also made a statement at the conference. He said, among other things, that taking into account the scope of divergences at the beginning of the teams debates, now the progress is immense. The stands have been brought closer, especially those of OPZZ and Solidarity, while the will to reach agreement is stronger at present than any other ambitions.

The conference was also attended by the DP CC secretary, Jerzy Gruchalski, member of the team for economy and social policy, who has stated that in spite of the stands being brought closer in crucial matters, there emerge considerable divergences concerning details. The question of indexation of pays and incomes still remains partially unsolved while the sides have arrived at a far-reaching convergence of views in the sub-team for health.

Another participant of the conference was Helena Chodkowska, member of the DP CC Presidium, who reported on the debates of the sub-team for youth. It seemed, she said, that we were close to reaching a common stand but it turned out that many issues had become controversial.

PRON Calls for Speeding Up Roundtable Debates

LD0603220589 Warsaw PAP in English
1828 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth debated today under the chairmanship of Jan Dobraczynski.

After discussing the socio-political situation in Poland and to-date course of the roundtable debates, the presidium expressed a view that the debates in teams, subteams and working groups which forwarded ever new questions should not be protracted. One should aim at agreement on basic issues to such an extent which is currently attainable.

It is also necessary to pass on as soon as possible to a new phase of public life after the roundtable, leaving different detailed questions to be solved later after arriving at an agreement on the issues which are most significant for Poland and Poles.

The presidium of the executive committees discussed the state of preparations for the session of the PRON's National Council.

Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Examines Issues

Discusses Personnel Policy

LD2402150389 Warsap PAP in English
1453 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23—Tasks and directions of personnel policy were discussed by the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee here today.

Minister Tadeusz Olechowski said that as a result of last year's reorganization in the Foreign Ministry the number of employees dropped by 151. The number or diplomatic employees who perform the major task of realization of foreign policy goals now total 402 in the headquarters and 595 in missions abroad, military missions excluded, which gives an average five employees in every diplomatic-consular mission.

The minister pointed out that the number of diplomatic staff abroad, despite a considerable expansion of diplomatic relations and the scope of tasks, is just a little higher than 32 years ago. These figures confirm the correctness of an assessment contained in a report by the team for review of structures and attestation of posts in the diplomatic service which says that contrary to stereotyped opinions, the Polish Foreign Service is not excessively expanded.

There have been cuts in the number of diplomatic posts requiring political acceptance which at present applies only to candidates for ambassadors, consuls-general and plenipotentiary ministers. The Foreign Ministry is open to representatives of various political and social organizations. The Foreign Service became more professional. The ministry gives preference to professional criteria and is guided by the principle of professionalism.

The above questions were subsequently discussed by the deputies. Deputy Ryszard Bender expressed the opinion that the Foreign Ministry should not be too strict in applying the rule of professionalism when it comes to ambassadorial appointments. For what matters is that such functions should also be performed by people enjoying a high social position in the state and coming from various political circles. They should be appointed to posts abroad from the angle of a prospective benefit their foreign activity might bring to this country.

The Foreign Affairs Committee pointed to the current organizational and personnel structure of the Foreign Ministry as correct and requiring no particular changes.

The committee said the Foreign Ministry is right in pursuing an open personnel policy. An impeccable moral attitude, high professional qualifications and the command of foreign languages are the criteria which should be appplied to employees of the consular and diplomatic service. These criteria should also be fully applied with regard to candidates for ambassadors and other employees appointed to the diplomatic service by various ministries and political and social organizations.

According to the committee, the number of candidates from the latter group should make up no more than 20 percent of the number of diplomatic employees in one mission in view of the need to maintain a high professional level of Poland's missions abroad.

Cadre Policy Presented

AU0103123089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 6

[PAP report: "The Paths of Foreign Ministry Cadre Policy"]

[Text] The tasks and paths of Foreign Ministry cadre policy were the subject of the 23 February meeting of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission. A report on this policy was read by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski. He said that following last year's personnel reorganization in the Foreign Ministry, the number of people employed in this ministry has fallen by 151. Today there are 402 diplomatic staff at the Foreign Ministry headquarters and 595 at foreign diplomatic posts, excluding military attaches, and it is they who bear the main burden of performing Foreign Ministry tasks, said T. Olechowski. It means that there are about five full diplomats in each consular-diplomatic facility.

The minister pointed out that despite the expansion of diplomatic relations and the growth in diplomatic tasks, the number of diplomatic staff abroad is only slightly greater than it was 32 years ago. In 1957, there were 986 diplomatic employees at foreign posts, of whom 575 actually held diplomatic status. Today, apart from the diplomatic staff, there are a total of 160 technicians and 95 secretarial staff in our 120 foreign posts. These people are responsible for the proper functioning of property of an enormous value, consisting of a total of 176 buildings and 1,060 apartments, of which 117 and 535 respectively belong to the Polish state. This information confirms the correctness of the stance taken by the foreign service personnel review commission, which said that despite opinions to the contrary, the Polish foreign service is not too big at all.

Further in his speech, T. Olechowski stressed that full-time Foreign Ministry diplomatic employees possess high professional qualifications and a good knowledge of foreign languages, in which they have to pass state examinations. Between 1985 and 1988, the Foreign Ministry hired 106 young people. Some 26 percent of all the ministry's staff consists of young people aged up to 34, and the average age of all ministry employees is 42.

The changes taking place in Poland, especially the reform to the political and social system, the expansion of democracy, and openness, mean that the Foreign Ministry has pursued three basic principles in its activity over the past 3 years, T. Olechowski continued. One of these is a flexible cadre policy. For example, the number of diplomatic posts requiring political recommendation has been reduced. Today, only ambassadors, consuls general, and ministers require political recommendation.

Furthermore, the foreign service has become more professional. In its cadre policy, the ministry accords priority to qualifications and abilities.

Following this report, the commission agreed that the current organization and personnel status of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was correct and did not require any major changes.

Olechowski Delivers Address

AU0603143689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski at the 24 February Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] Citizen marshal! May it please the Sejm! I have the honor of presenting before the Sejm the paths and tasks of Polish foreign policy in 1989. We are going to implement this policy under conditions that are complicated, but ones which also give us the chance to improve our international position and consolidate the process of change in Poland, especially the economic reform. We are benefited by the decisions of the 10th PZPR Plenum. Their implementation is helping to improve the climate surrounding Poland.

In the Sejm expose which he gave following the formation of his government, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski presented the general strategy of our activity in the international sphere. Let me recall that today, the primary objective of foreign policy is to back the reforms and the country's socioeconomic development. However, the guiding thought in this policy is—openness in all directions.

This policy involves a continuity of the basic tasks that constitute the Polish raison d'etat. At the same time, it is a policy of changes, a policy that reflects our national interests and sometimes underscores them.

May it please the House! Thanks to the scientific-technological revolution and economic development, the process of change in the modern world is becoming much more energetic. First in order of importance are universal problems, especially mankind's survival in a time of danger caused by increasing world interdependence. In the words of Wojciech Jaruzelski, the point is to "convert the philosophy of hostility into a philosophy of interdependence. That is the supreme and supranational condition that has to be fulfilled if we are to survive."

A fundamental change in East-West relations is occurring. Soviet-American cooperation is stabilizing itself. These changes can best be seen in our immediate surroundings—Europe. The concluded Vienna CSCE meeting has brought many new solutions and created new possibilities of intensifying our European contacts.

The program of destroying nuclear missiles called for by the Washington treaty is being implemented. The conditions for disarmament dialogue have improved. The great protagonists of this program observe that in today's world, military strength is not an effective and future-oriented way to safeguard one's security, and that excessive armaments can even reduce this security. Poland and its Warsaw Pact allies are in favor of applying the principle of minimum defense sufficiency.

Regional conflicts are gradually being extinguished. The Soviet forces have left Afghanistan. The situation surrounding Cambodia is becoming normal. Peace is returning to the Persian Gulf and southern Africa. The prerequisites for breaking the deadlock in the Middle East conflict are appearing. There is an increasing reliance on the principles of compromise and accord and on the practice of resolving conflicts without any victors or vanquished.

The prestige of the United Nations is growing again, and the primacy of international law is paving a way for itself in international relations.

In the process of improving the international climate, the most important role is played by the revolutionary restructuring in the USSR. Perestroyka is having a stabilizing effect on the world, especially on East-West relations. In his UN speech in December, Mikhail Gorbachev presented a vision of profound democratic changes in the world, a result of the new thinking. This thinking gives priority to global human interests, and underlines the need to heed the principle of freedom of choice without exception.

We realize the interdependence of the processes occurring in our part of the world. The fortunes of the Polish reform depend to a large extent on the fortunes of perestroyka in the USSR. Conversely, the success of our reform will not remain without influence on the success of the restructuring in the Soviet Union, as well as on the future of East-West relations.

Poland has also contributed to the East-West rapprochement. Basically, our politics is based on a development of cooperation and dialogue. We are trying to use the new possibilities provided by the improved climate surrounding Poland since the "roundtable" began. As Czeslaw Kiszczak said at the opening "roundtable" debate, international society is watching us, and what is happening in Poland is not isolated from the situation in Europe and the world. Poland's domestic consolidation on the basis of far-reaching reforms is stabilizing the climate of European relations. Nations are ceasing to look on us as the "sick man of Europe" or as a "potential ignition point."

However, a more stable and peaceful world poses new challenges. Some of them directly concern Polish interests.

The economic and technological gap between the two parts of Europe is expanding. Poland is threatened with a diminished role in the international scientific race. The success of the reform and release of human initiative will be of decisive importance in preventing this danger. Also

important is the establishment of the kind of foreign contacts that permit direct industrial and technological cooperation with the leaders in this world race.

The emergence of a common West European market in 1992 is a challenge for Europe, and not just for its eastern part. We must adapt our politics and economic affairs to this process of integration, in order to prevent an even wider gap between us and the highly industrialized countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in concert with other ministries, is already undertaking a series of concrete actions in order to protect our interests. We are counting on it that the creators of the West European integration will see to it that this integration is as open as possible.

The ecological threat is growing. We ourselves are experiencing how pollution transcends all borders. We will aim toward creating an effective international system of environmental protection.

These European challenges are contributing toward the reemergence of a sense of European identity. Divided Europe is beginning to rid itself of weapons, create equal criteria for human rights, and coordinate economic efficiency with the primacy of man. We would like to believe what Western statesmen tell us about Europe's future being dependent on hopes not for "a destabilization of the domestic situation in the countries on the other side, but on hopes for cooperation and constructive competition."

The barometer of change is indicating fair weather. The world is beginning to pursue a policy based on a balance of interests, not a balance of forces.

All in all, the international changes are improving the foreign conditions for the implementation of Polish national interests, including the economic and political reforms. Never since the war have we had a situation where so much depends on us alone.

Citizen marshal! May it please the Sejm! The socialist countries are Poland's immediate sphere of activity. We are monitoring with great interest the changes taking place in those countries. Each country's development is revealing that country's national characteristics. This should not weaken these countries; instead, it should enrich them with the experience of others. Our policy of openness to the world also includes a creative use of the achievements of our neighbors.

Relations between the alliances are undergoing a process of democratic change. The path of our activity is defined by businesslike cooperation and partnership. In mutual relations, we are abandoning grand words and gestures, which usually concealed an absence of progress. The common denominator of our interests must be clearer and more tangible. Such a trend suits Polish interests. The government will support this trend.

Particularly favorable development prospects have opened up in Polish-Soviet relations. They are encouraged by the strategic similarity of the Soviet perestroya and our own reforms. A great chance to overcome the accumulated difficulties of the past also lies ahead of us.

The principle of sovereign partnership is consolidating itself in human relations. In fact, this principle is revitalizing and enriching these relations. It enables one to understand that the substance of the socialist community does not consist of just geopolitical factors, but also common interests with the rest of the world, especially Europe; an ideological and cultural closeness with the world; a mutual interest in the reforms; and a feeling of shared fortunes and shared heritage. The government will consolidate these ties, whose social strength was demonstrated by the spontaneous and widespread gesture of solidarity with and material aid for Armenia following the earthquakes.

We will aim to fully implement the decisions reached during Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit. We are developing a concept of long-term economic activity and of an abolition of economic, financial, and other barriers. We have taken steps to ensure youth, cultural, scientific, and educational contacts with Poles in the USSR. This issue has encountered top-level understanding in Moscow, as well as in the republics that adjoin Poland, in other words the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland.

The so-called blank spots in Polish-Soviet relations are a subject of constant concern for the PPR supreme authorities. We are concerned that the work of the joint committee of Polish and Soviet historians be speeded up, in accordance with the recommendations of Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev. The barriers that hinder access to sources and archives are being torn down. We would like a rapid end to this work; in particular we would like a final explanation of the Katyn case.

Our priority in relations with the socialist countries is to adapt our cooperation to the changes taking place in the socialist community and the world. We believe we are still not making full use of the community's potential. We propose to offer each of our partners new ways of cooperating with it. Our program also includes eliminating the bureaucracy at various government levels, intensifying new forms of economic cooperation, and expanding direct contacts between our societies.

We will devote particular attention to the GDR and CSSR as our natural and close partners, with whom mutual relations and cooperation should quickly reach a new quality. We want to consolidate our links with Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, as well as with Yugoslavia. We also want to reestablish contacts with Albania.

The process of change cannot leave the structure of multilateral cooperation untouched. The government is in favor of restructuring the mechanisms of economic integration. The old mechanisms have exhausted all

their possibilities. There are too many bureaucratic features which consume considerable resources but provide no results. Poland is aiming toward a profound restructuring of CEMA mechanisms. The basis for greater CEMA cooperation should consist of a broader use of economic stimuli and an openness to the world and the processes occurring therein.

We will continue to improve the mechanisms of the Warsaw Pact. The functioning of the Warsaw Pact must be based on closer international relations, whereby politics plays the leading role in resolving questions of security. We wish to use the Warsaw Pact as a coordinator of efforts to remove the negative effects of Europe's division.

Our community is ceasing to be a monolith of unity. Instead it is becoming multifaceted. This reflects the changes and pluralistic nature of today's world.

However, the new relations between the socialist countries are not taking shape without difficulties and without a clash of interests. However, that ought to be considered a natural phenomenon. We will not hide these difficulties from society, but neither will we dramatize them. Our intention is to prevent such collisions, and eradicate any that have already occurred.

Convinced of the possibility of finding solutions that satisfy everyone, the government wishes to concentrate on three problems.

First of all, the talks between Poland and the GDR on the subject of a demarcation of the border in the Pomeranian Bay have already lasted a long time. Certain progress in these talks has been achieved recently. However, we believe that these talks ought to be intensified and brought to a successful outcome on the basis of a respect for national interests, as well as on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement and other international legal norms.

Second, we believe it is time to speed up talks on a trilateral Poland-GDR-CSSR agreement to protect waters and the environment in border areas. A meeting between the premiers of the three countries could encourage an improvement in this situation.

Third, unrestricted travel by the citizens of our countries should also be included in the catalogue of difficult matters. Poland remains firmly in favor of relaxing the rules governing foreign travel. Direct contacts between people are an effective way of learning about other countries and becoming acquainted with their societies. One should definitely be able to travel more easily to neighboring, friendly countries. The expectations of Poles in this sphere are still not being fulfilled.

The excessive customs restrictions imposed by some countries, especially the way in which they have been imposed and are being enforced, is causing considerable ill feeling and tension in Poland. We cannot accept the principle of collective responsibility. We will protect honest citizens as well as we can, but we condemn speculation and will counteract it with determination, in cooperation with our partners. After all, speculation does not act in just one direction. We believe that the negative phenomena accompanying tourism cannot be eliminated by administrative means alone. In any case, the application of such means causes moral and psychological, and even political damage. When searching for solutions, I suggest we concentrate on longer-term mechanisms.

We wish to expand our contacts with the non-European socialist countries. We will try and increase the substance of our relations with China, under the reformed conditions in both countries. We want to modernize and improve our cooperation with other friendly countries—Mongolia, Cuba, Vietnam, the DPRK, Cambodia, and Laos.

Poland's opening up in all directions applies to our relations with the West in particular.

Loosening the debt noose, which is still very tightly drawn, remains the most pressing task. We are conducting negotiations with the organizations that group together our main creditors—the Paris Club and the London Club. Essentially, what we are hoping for is a long-term settlement of our debt problem that would make it possible for us to discharge our commitments without economic development being hampered and without a drastic decline in Poles' standard of living. It is a question of financial and credit cooperation that guarantees economic development and the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. However, the results obtained to date are less than modest. We have to allocate sums for debt repayment that are four to five times higher than the amount received in the form of credit injections.

We have become members of the IMF once again, and we will shortly be being playing host to an IMF delegation in Warsaw once more. We are aiming to rapidly agree on an adjustment program and obtain a so-called "stand-by" loan. Preparations are at an advanced stage with respect to starting up concrete investment projects primarily in farming and food sectors and with respect to World Bank loans for their partial financing.

For several years now, we have been hearing assurances that the West is following the changes that are taking place in Poland with interest and that it wants to support the Polish reforms. We have been told: "Achieve national accord, and we will stop standing about with our arms folded." Today, no one can deny that changes are taking place in Poland. These changes are not being introduced because of the wishes of our Western partners, but on account of public expectations and our society's aspirations. However, it is a fact that the West is only continuing to issue declarations and there is little sign of the significant material and financial involvement that was announced.

The higher level of political ties with the West must be accompanied by the normalization of financial and credit relations and better conditions for scientific and technical cooperation. This is not only in our interest, but also in the interests of our partners, and of our creditors in particular.

The government wishes to make up the arrears in all areas and with respect to all partners. We want to close the chapter of disagreements and difficulties once and for all. We are receiving encouraging signals suggesting that our partners are also ready to make significant moves.

The government would like "bigger steps" to be taken in the direction of improving relations with the United States. We attach great hopes to George Bush in the office of president and to the review of the new administration's policy toward Poland that has been announced. We played host to Mr Bush in Poland when he was still vice president. Our affairs are not foreign to him. We are interested in the possibility of the president renewing his first-hand familiarity with Poland at some point in the future. We are counting on the United States displaying greater understanding for our efforts to obtain better financial and credit conditions and on greater involvement by the United States in the modernization of our economy.

We constantly attach great importance to our relations with the states of Western Europe. We would particularly like to invigorate relations with those states with which levels of cooperation fail to meet needs and expectations.

The government highly appraises the higher level of contacts with Great Britain. The visit by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had a significant impact on the whole range of relations, and we hope that the effects of the visit will gain momentum.

We warmly welcome the speeding up of progress in our relations with France, whose interest in reviving ties with Poland is something that we fully and frankly reciprocate. Premier Rakowski's recent visit to Paris was extraordinarily productive for the new stage in relations. It can be hoped that President Mitterrand's official visit to Poland in June, the first at this level for many years, will restore the former luster to our relations.

We want to increase our cooperation with those partners that have displayed a better understanding of Polish affairs in recent years. We wish to enrich our relations with Italy with new substance, and this should be assisted by the important visits from the country that are being prepared. At this point, Austria and Greece should also be mentioned. We are currently scheduling cooperation with them, and it is not without significance that Vienna was the first Western capital that Premier Rakowski visited.

We believe that better use should be made of the potential that resides in cooperation with smaller and medium-sized states in Europe. They are valuable and reliable partners, and Poland attaches great importance to cooperation with them. I am thinking of Spain and the Benelux countries. However, I would especially like to draw attention to our Nordic partners, and to Sweden and Finland in particular. Contacts and cooperation with them is an important part of good-neighborly relations among those living in the Baltic area and is an objective element in our community of interests—economic, ecological, or commercial.

Our relations with the Holy See occupy a high place in our order of priorities. We are striving to full normalize these relations, which means that establishment of diplomatic relations. As we know, the preparatory work related to this is at a very advanced stage, and it can be expected that our efforts will be crowned with success before the end of this year.

We view the international activities of the Holy See with respect, and we acknowledge and note with satisfaction the interest and concern displayed by Pope John Paul II with regard to our common fatherland, and peace and humanism in international relations.

We would like to make fuller use of the opportunities created by the good climate in relations with Japan, the leading economic power in the West.

I would like to discuss our relations with the FRG separately and at somewhat greater length. National consensus on this issue is the cornerstone of our policy. Relations between Poland and the FRG are the subject of extraordinarily keen interest on the part of our society, because they concern the fundamental interests of the Polish state and people. They are also important for European stability and cooperation. Warsaw and Bonn cannot pass each other by on the path toward overcoming divisions in Europe.

The main direction of our activity is the intensification of the process of normalization on the basis of the provisions of the 1970 treaty, which were agreed jointly with the FRG and included clear decisions concerning borders. This is the political basis on which we are prepared to effect fundamental progress and even a breakthrough in relations, and the intensive and difficult negotiations that have been going on for several months serve this end. It is a question of overcoming tendencies toward stagnation, resolving contentious issues, and an extensive opening up toward mutually advantageous cooperation, and cooperation in the economic and social spheres above all. The recent unofficial visit to Bonn by Premier Rakowski has created an advantageous political climate for a future settlement. We are convinced that with genuine goodwill, political courage, and a readiness to reach compromises on both sides, it will be possible to find comprehensive solutions to the issues that are currently the subject of negotiations. We expect that, as a result of a positive evolution of this kind, a visit to Poland by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl will be possible this year.

The year 1989 will see the 50th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland. In the context of relations with the FRG, this anniversary should not only prompt reflection on the tragic past, but should also represent an opportunity for bold steps aimed at promoting understanding and bringing our two societies closer together. Against this background, the unresolved question of compensation for the hundreds of thousands of Polish victims of Nazi crimes and persecution who are still alive assumes a special ethical and human dimension.

The government wishes Europe's priority status in our foreign policy to become even more apparent. Of course, this not only applies to bilateral relations.

From the Polish viewpoint, this is primarily a question of preventing Poland from falling behind European standards and of reviving thinking that views the continent as a whole.

We are concentrating our European policy on three basic directions.

The first of these is the comprehensive strengthening of the CSCE process as the cornerstone of the European home. I recently had an opportunity to set out our philosophy for the development of this process at the final session of the Vienna meeting. I would like to express satisfaction here at the fact that our most important proposals were reflected in the final resolution. The government has started on the full and conscientious implementation of all the decisions contained in the resolution and the realization of the international obligations that have been assumed. We are conducting a detailed review of legal regulations to establish whether they are compatible with the Final Document.

The second is that of taking up the challenge of gradual Western European integration. The government is examining a program of possible long-term Polish actions in this area. We will shortly start negotiations with the EEC on an agreement. We wish to expand mutual relations and obtain a schedule for the lifting of trade quotas. We realize that is necessary to bring our economy closer to the standards in line with which integration is proceeding. We also have to make what we have to offer the West more attractive. It is often said that our culture is part of European culture. We should do everything possible to ensure that our economy is an integral part of the European economy.

The third is that of intensifying cooperation with other Western European institutions. We are strengthening our ties with the Council of Europe in line with Wojciech Jaruzelski's initiative. It is our intention to take advantage of opportunities to accede to the conventions opened under the aegis of the Council and to take part in the undertakings organized by it. We would like to ensure Poland's entry to Western European information, television, telecommunication and other systems.

This concentration on European affairs does not mean that we are turning our backs on the problems of the rest of the world. We would like to maintain good ties with the developing states. They are proven political partners of ours. We are linked by the problems of the world, which are interconnected. We will not fail to provide support for their efforts to preserve regional peace, reorganize international economic relations, and in their struggle against neocolonialism, rascism, and apartheid.

Our mutual economic interests can benefit greatly from cooperation with this group of states. We would like to increase cooperation, and enrich cooperation through new forms in our relations with India, Brazil, the Arab countries, and a whole series of states. In our policy, the new centers of dynamic economic growth, especially in Asia and the Pacific region, are being viewed from the angle of Polish interests.

The positive changes that are taking place in international relations are improving our sense of security. Today, the development of relations between East and West is creating an opportunity to build the foundations of a surer and cheaper system of common security.

A guarantee of Poland's security is mainly provided by Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact. The members of our alliance have adopted the principle of defense sufficiency as the basic criterion of their military effort. On the basis of suitable agreements with their partners in the North Atlantic Pact, the countries of the Warsaw Pact are ready to reduce their military potential to the minimum level necessary to ensure an effective defense. Therefore, Poland will shape its defense system in accordance with the progress achieved in detente and in line with the appearance of new joint guarantees of security. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense are undertaking appropriate action in this sphere.

Two major forums of disarmament talks are commencing—the Warsaw Pact-NATO talks on conventional armed forces, and the CSCE talks on confidence-building measures.

Poland's aim is to conclude the first significant military agreements over the next 3 years. This is completely feasible. Never before have negotiations commenced in such a favorable climate. From this point of view, one cannot overestimate the importance of Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of a unilateral reduction in the USSR's military potential.

We are jointly creating favorable conditions for the success of the disarmament talks. Our desire is confirmed by the National Defense Committee's unilateral decisions to reduce and alter the Polish Armed Forces, which the minister for national defense discussed in his interview. These decisions show that we do not want to go to the talks with empty hands, and that we want to offer a substantial contribution—a readiness to include our potential in the process of reductions from the very beginning.

The plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, known as the Jaruzelski Plan, is our contribution to the search for the best disarmament solutions. This plan is a synthesis of Polish security interests. It will continue to be a subject of disarmament talks with our partners. The Vienna talks are the right place to discuss those parts of the plan dealing with conventional disarmament and confidence-building measures.

The conditions for a start on talks on the subject of military doctrines are favorable. We are engaged in energetic contacts with the FRG for the purpose of organizing a representative seminar on military doctrines, strategy, and concepts.

We believe it is time to jointly consider together the formula of talks and concepts on the subject of reducing tactical-nuclear potentials, so that these potentials cease to be a "no man's land" that is covered neither by talks nor by disarmament regulations. The presence of old patterns of thinking can still be felt in the West. The West is still discussing the modernization of weapons of this category. We want to achieve security not by expanding the military potentials of both sides, but by reducing them.

We want this year to witness an increase in the momentum of disarmament, also on the subject of such issues as a 50 percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the United States and USSR and the elimination of chemical weapons.

We will aim to perpetuate a comprehensive approach toward security issues in the consciousness of international society. This is encouraged by the concept of a universal system of international peace and security. Poland will take part in expounding and publicizing this concept, especially at the United Nations.

We note with satisfaction a revival of the role of the United Nations. A cohesive United Nations may serve to establish the primacy of law in international relations.

The United Nations has played an effective role in extinguishing conflagrations. The Nobel peace prize awarded to its soldiers in blue helmets was an expression of recognition for UN peace operations, in which Polish soldiers have also taken part, having served in UN military contingents and observation groups for a long time, including in Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq front recently. This is an important element in the process of increasing our world prestige, and our contribution to solving regional conflicts.

The government also views the UN system as one of the forums of our efforts to achieve a long-term systemic solution to the problem of debts, liberalize trade, and improve access to modern technology that helps protect the environment. We will be pleased to welcome Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar in Poland in the spring.

Citizen marshal! Openness in foreign policy also means openness to cultural values. We would like the results of all currents and orientations of humanitarian thought to reach us. We want to break the barriers imposed by a lack of resources and other restrictions, and present more of our own cultural achievements to society. For this purpose, we intend to open new Polish culture centers abroad.

Our openness will also be evident in our energetic activity to protect and consolidate the joint cultural heritage and expand joint social, material, and spiritual values. It is a great honor for us that Krakow will host the CSCE symposium on European cultural heritage in 1991.

It is one of the symptoms of our history that many distinguished Polish men of culture had to stay outside Poland. They created their works outside Poland, and still do so. Sometimes this was the result of a natural aim to compare their own creativity with that of others, but in most cases it was the result of emigration for political reasons. As a result, many valuable works of Polish culture were created abroad. Not all of them ever reached Poland, and those that did often did so illegally. This state of affairs is receding into the past. There is only one Polish culture, and it does not matter where a work is created. May the artistic values of a work determine its place and status in the nation's culture. The government asks from this rostrum all Polish people of culture and their associations to adopt this platform of Polish cultural unity as their own. May the supreme values of Polish culture become a link that binds works of culture together. The government will remove the obstacles that hinder uninhibited contact between people of culture.

There is no doubt that we need a new, higher level of information today, otherwise we cannot expect the world around us to trust our policies. In this we are counting on the Polish mass media, and on their objective and critical assessments.

The changes in the country are a serious capital with which to establish an objective picture of Poland abroad and guarantee that our affairs will be viewed with warm feelings. We cannot waste this chance. We must give better publicity to our policy of reform and openness to the world.

We are striving to achieve favorable conditions for accelerated progress in Polish culture, science, and technology, including an expansion of scientific cooperation with leading research establishments and universities in the East and in the West. This is one way of preventing Poland from becoming a technological backwater.

May it please the Sejm! An open policy toward the 15 million strong Polish community abroad has acquired its rightful place in Polish foreign policy. This community

shares our national fortunes. It is a component of the national substance. We are ceasing to divide it politically and geographically, and we no longer classify it according to generations.

The government is steadfastly aiming to close the difficult chapter on the subject of relations with Polish emigres in the West and in the East, and eliminate the mistrust and prejudices that have accumulated on both sides. We will not be ashamed to admit to the mistakes of the past. We are ready to undertake honest, open talks with the Polish community abroad. Reconciliation with it should be part of the national accord in Poland. This lies in everyone's interests.

Passport and visa regulations are subject to constant favorable change. It is our honest intention to facilitate the Polish foreign community's contacts with its country, and encourage Polish entrepreneurs living abroad to indulge in economic cooperation with Poland. The new law on economic activity with the participation of foreign economic bodies creates good conditions for this economic cooperation. Our joint desire is that Poles from abroad who live in Poland should reap the advantages of economic cooperation here and thus improve their position in their countries of permanent residence. The Polonia Society is doing much to normalize relations with Poles abroad.

By means of concrete steps, we want to lend expression to our openness vis-a-vis the Polish community abroad. We will create better conditions for them to tighten their bonds with Poland and promote Polish language and culture abroad. Here we are counting on constructive cooperation with the Polish Episcopate and with the Polish clergy abroad, which has such a lot of experience in this field.

We are dealing with a rise in the number of foreign trips by Polish citizens. Therefore, the tasks of the Polish consular service in protecting the interests of these citizens are also rising. The Polish consular service has intensified its care and legal aid, and has been protecting our citizens against discrimination and undignified treatment.

It is our idea that suggestions to liberalize visa policy and improve consular services and medical assistance for Polish citizens temporarily abroad was included in the CSCE concluding document. We will insist that our partners observe these provisions.

Many of our countrymen are working abroad. We hope they will return to Poland sooner or later. We are investigating the possibilities of a bilateral regulation of such matters as working conditions, insurance, and pensions, and the transfer of these to Poland.

Our consular service will render essential assistance to every Polish citizen who needs it while abroad. Sometimes, our citizens consciously or unconsciously violate foreign regulations, and then the possibilities for assistance from our consular service are limited. We are counting on cooperation from travel agencies, employers and educational establishments, which send their employees and students abroad, and the mass media in preventing such situations from arising.

Citizen marshal! The government is concerned that our foreign policy should express a broad national consensus and be a platform aiming to integrate society around Poland's supreme interests, including its security, the inviolability of its borders, its sovereignty, and the consolidation of Poland's foreign prestige. This is a condition for the effectiveness and strength of our policy. In this context, we welcome the talks on the subject of making our foreign relations more social.

The Sejm plays a key role in establishing the social consensus. The Sejm is also becoming an increasingly energetic source of international contacts. The meeting of European, U.S., and Canadian heads of Parliament, Marshal Roman Malinowski's idea, served to increase our country's international prestige.

May it please the Sejm! The present shape of our foreign policy is the result of the domestic reforms in Poland. Our foreign activity is subordinated to these reforms. We believe that the best form of support for the reforms is an open attitude toward all partners in all spheres of contacts.

We are and we wish to be a credible ally, good neighbor, and creative participant in the processes occurring in Europe and the world. We wish to gain new confederates for the Polish cause, and neutralize the forces that are hostile to us.

The basic criterion for assessing any country's foreign policy is the degree to which its national interests are safeguarded. We want the implementation of this objective to be increasingly evident. We are counting on pragmatism and consistency, on a sober policy based on goals that match our resources and possibilities.

We wish to combine the implementation of state interests as a whole with greater concern for the interests of the individual. We see a consolidation of democratic ways of formulating policy as the source of this policy's cohesion and strength.

It is the joint concern of all Poles to increase our country's prestige in the world, assure Poland of its rightful place in the race of world civilization, and take part in the solving of global problems.

I wish to assure the Sejm that the Polish foreign service will not spare its efforts to attain our objectives in the international arena.

However, while performing international tasks, we remember the obvious truth that we create Poland's position, strength, and prestige together in Poland. These qualities will depend mainly on our domestic development and political and economic reforms.

Resolution on Foreign Policy

AU0203154889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 1

[PAP report: "Sejm Resolution on PPR Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Having heard the foreign minister's report and analyzed the exhaustive Sejm floor debate on the world situation and Polish foreign policy, the PPR Sejm states that the present international situation is marked by an acceleration of changes, a revitalization of East-West relations, and the appearance of new global challenges that concern the whole of mankind at a time of increasing world interdependence.

The restructuring in the USSR is a positive element in these changes. The program of a profound restructuring of relations which Mikhail Gorbachev presented at the United Nations indeed presents new challenges to all countries and the whole of international society.

The Sejm states with satisfaction that the international changes are improving the external conditions for the fulfillment of Polish national interests. Therefore, our foreign policy should be based on a search for international support for the economic and political reforms, and for a way of improving the country's payments situation in such a way that our state's economic development proceeds unimpeded and the standard of living of our citizens is preserved.

The Sejm attaches particular importance to the development of comprehensive relations with the USSR and remaining socialist states; to a consolidation of the Warsaw Pact, especially its political functions; and to a restructuring of the mechanisms of CEMA cooperation.

The Sejm is in favor of continuing the policy of openness and energetic activity vis-a-vis Western countries in all spheres. This applies especially to Poland's relations with the United States and West European countries.

The Sejm attaches particular importance to a revitalization of Polish European policy, to the overcoming of European divisions, and to creating proper conditions for a European common home.

The November 1988 Warsaw conference of heads of European, U.S., and Canadian parliaments—the Sejm's idea—fulfilled a major role in consolidating the process of all-European cooperation. This conference was a complete success. The Sejm's international activity is a major pillar of support for the implementation of our country's foreign policy. This applies to the numerous parliamentary contacts with countries all over the world, and to the contacts with international organizations like the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

The Sejm is convinced of the need for a fundamental improvement in relations with the FRG on the basis of the Potsdam agreement and the 7 December 1970 Polish-FRG friendship treaty. Furthermore, the Sejm advocates the need to restore the traditional close links with France, expand cooperation with other West European countries and the EEC, and hasten a normalization of relations with the Vatican.

The Sejm states with satisfaction that the Vienna CSCE talks that ended in January brought many new solutions and have created new possibilities of intensifying all-European cooperation. The Sejm supports a full implementation of the provisions of the concluding document.

The PPR Sejm is convinced about the need to continue Poland's high-level commitment in the sphere of disarmament, especially in the context of the forthcoming Warsaw Pact-NATO talks on conventional armed forces and the CSCE talks on confidence-building measures. The plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe is Poland's contribution to the search for the best disarmament solutions. The implementation of this plan is entering the stage of negotiations at the same time as the start of the new talks.

The Sejm is also in favor of a revitalization of cooperation with the developing countries.

The PPR Sejm holds the view that an open policy vis-a-vis Polish migration and an effective protection of the legal and economic interests of Polish citizens abroad should occupy an important place in Polish foreign policy.

The Sejm is deeply convinced that the process of domestic reforms in Poland and the accompanying aim toward national accord are major trump cards for Polish foreign policy, enabling it to regain its militancy and create more effective external conditions for our internal restructuring.

On its part, the Sejm will continue to support unfailingly Polish foreign policy in all areas of interparliamentary contacts.

Spokesmen Reviews Foreign Policy

LD2502204389 Warsaw PAP in English 1810 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—Stefan Staniszewski, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told PAP:

The period of four months since Premier Rakowski took office was very interesting both in the internal situation and in international relations. At that time we noted the premier's big international activity. His visits both in the East and West and Minister Olechowski's contacts have permitted new experience to be gathered. It follows from

the talks held during these visits that independently of various points of view on the development of events in Poland, of positive or critical comments, a common wish is expressed for us to overcome our difficulties.

The opening taking place in Poland in political, economic and ideological fields does have an impact on our foreign policy. Its shape stems from the internal reforms of the country. Their endorsement is currently the basic axis of our external activity.

What is worth noting in Polish Foreign Minister's Sejm expose and the course of the parliamentary debate are new, important elements concerning the character of our relations with socialist countries. In this field the direction of action at present is set by matter-of-fact cooperation and the principle of sovereign partnership. In our mutual relations we wish to adjust the forms and methods of cooperation to the changes taking place in the socialist community and the world.

Differences also occur in our relations with socialist countries, for instance as regards economic integration, environmental pollution, tourism, the Pomeranian Bay and so-called blank spots. There are even occasional clashes of interests. We want to solve them peacefully but consistently.

Opening also concerns our relations with the West. The most urgent task is to loosen the debt stranglehold. In the provisions of the reform and in the plan of consolidating the national economy we took into account a whole range of comments and postulates forwarded by our partners, including the International Monetary Fund with which we are currently discussing the provisions of several important programs.

We have been conducting talks on debts with our creditors for a long time now. We wish to make them take a resonable stance on the matter at long last. The point is to significantly stretch the period of paying back Poland's debt.

Our Western partners must meet us halfway in this matter. We already have the first signs of positive approach to our problems and we expect they will be materialised in the near future.

We want to be a partner, a creative participant in European changes and in world politics. We want to give more emphasis in our policy to the European priority. It is necessary to start again thinking of our continent in truly pan-European terms.

The domination of European questions in Polish foreign policy will not, however, mean weakening of the good relations between our country and the developing countries.

The well-developing relations between East and West provide a good chance for building a more reliable and less expensive system of common security. We shall try, following the theses of the Jaruzelski Plan, to work out possibly soon the first concrete and, from the military angle, significant agreements. We expect that within a few years, sooner than it was in the past, progress will be achieved in conventional disarmament and developing new confidence building and security measures.

We are strongly interested in Polish foreign policy reflecting a wide national consenses, Stefan Staniszewski said in conclusion.

Czyrek Speaks on Need for Calm

AU0203145289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] PAP—Speaking at the 24 February Sejm session, Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member, said that Poland needs internal and external calm more than anything else, because we are at a time of perestroyka, increasing international detente, and "roundtable" talks, in which international public opinion is very interested. All these factors are a historic chance which all enlightened national forces must use to their advantage. The task of foreign policy is to support this chance. The PZPR Deputies Club has recognized the foreign policy principles presented by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski as worthy of comprehensive support.

Poland's international activity is growing. This means that our participation in the work of perpetuating peace is also growing. This is a sign of an acceleration of world transformations, for which there are many reasons. One of them is the growing realization that a nuclear conflict would mean the end of the world. More and more people also realize that mankind's survival depends on whether we can prove equal to the new political, economic, ecological, and nutritional challenges. Mankind is abandoning the bad practices of the past, and is looking for paths to the future. Poland must not be absent from this search.

It is not just the great powers that have convinced themselves that banking on strength does not encourage international security. Thanks to the Soviet-American disarmament accords, an effective process of detente started in December 1988. The direction we are to take is indicated by a continuity of dialogue, top-level meetings, and permanent Soviet-American contacts.

Not so long ago, things were still completely different. Several years ago there was an attempt to use Poland in order to step up confrontation. Our country paid more for this return to the ice age than any other. Today, however, we are contributing our own values to the policy of dialogue, disarmament, and cooperation. Our initiatives led to an unprecedented variety of accords in the Austrian capital 1 month ago. These accords are a major expression of a humanization of international relations. At the same time, at the "roundtable," one can

detect a feeling of respect for our courage in solving our own problems. Premier Rakowski's visits to the FRG and France are the first signs that Western countries are interested in our international contacts, said J. Czyrek.

Poland, with its 1,000-year traditions, has every right to take part in the life of European society and contribute its own values to it. The Jaruzelski Plan is one of our most important contributions to Europe's common future. We also consider European integration and cooperation to be a way of overcoming our own economic difficulties. However, that does not mean that we are abandoning our national interests, because there are limits that cannot be exceeded. One must remember, J. Czyrek continued, that everything Poland is doing for Polish domestic peace is a contribution toward European peace. We want to overcome the divisions that still exist in Europe. There is no Poland without Europe, and no Europe without Poland. We want a Poland that is open to the world, but we also want a world that is open to Poland. These are the fundamental objectives and provisions of our foreign policy, in accordance with the Polish raison d'etat.

Spokesman Urban Holds 28 Feb News Conference

AU0303151489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Mar 89 pp 1, 6

[Transcript of news conference by government spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 28 February]

[Text] Government spokesman Jerzy Urban's 28 February news conference began with questions put to him.

Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: In the statement you made yesterday, you expressed concern over the anti-Soviet attitudes among young people. I believe these attitudes are the result of a conviction that Polish society's aspirations toward independence may clash with Soviet interests. Here perhaps one can quote from a speech made at the 10th plenum in 1981 by our current premier, who was then simply Rakowski, whereby it is high time our leadership suggested to the Soviet leadership that the Soviet Union should officially and publicly declare its political interests west of the Bug River. Today, Premier Rakowski explains that what he wanted was to show that the Soviet Union cannot be interested in a neighbor who is obsessed with anti-Sovietism. That sounds dangerous. But forgive this introduction, here is my question. Could an official and public declaration alleviate the anti-Soviet moods, if they are unjustified? Does the Polish Government not intend to ask for such a declaration?

Urban: No, the Polish Government does not intend to ask for such a declaration, because it is not necessary. The Soviet Union has publicized its stance concerning relations with the socialist countries many times. That was the subject of Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches here in Poland, and we see no ambiguities that need to be clarified. I consider it completely unjustified to relate this issue to the anti-Soviet provocation in Krakow. The Krakow events are a sign of mindless political extremism that is harmful to Poland's interests. In any case, I spoke out on this subject in my statement yesterday.

Zbigniew Zemler, OPZZ: At your last press conference, you said: "I think that the OPZZ occupies a radical oppositional position vis-a-vis the government. This applies to such spheres as the rules of the economic game and the economic reform in general, and I also think there are major differences between each side's approach toward political problems." However, 2 days later, Premier Rakowski said at the OPZZ Council session: "I really believe that the present trade unions are our only support. To make things clear, let me say that I consider these unions to be our only real ally." What are our trade unionists supposed to make of this?

Urban: I see no discrepancy between the two statements because the oppositional attitudes and activity of the trade unions do not clash with the principle that the trade union movement as a whole is an essential part of social life and a major indicator of social needs and aspirations to the authorities, including the government. We are living in an age when an opposition is not something that has to be considered evil. Instead, it should be considered natural. I think the trade unions would be more offended if I said that they were pro-government. The trade union stance on many matters, and I mean the stance of the trade union ruling body, is different than that of the Council of Ministers. For example, the trade unions are negatively disposed toward the idea of abolishing meat rationing, which is what the government intends to do. The trade unions asked the Sejm to throw out that part of the 1989 budget dealing with social policy. The trade unions accused us of arrogance and voluntarism when we reached decisions concerning prices and incomes. At the "roundtable," the OPZZ said that a ban on price hikes should be imposed until the end of 1989. That is hard to reconcile with its simultaneous call for a market-based economy. The OPZZ insists that the private sector should be taxed. That clashes with our policy of equality for all sectors. The OPZZ wants collective labor agreements to be negotiated with ministries, not with employers. Right now a radicalization of views is also occurring, but not in the OPZZ; instead, it is occurring among various trade union bodies of which we understand the OPZZ is not the ruling body. This is illustrated by the failure to counteract the wildcat strikes despite the OPZZ's disapproval, and in many cases active encouragement for these strikes. A failure to counteract many wage disputes is also against the government's stance. We also think that the idea of trade unions inside Interior Ministry and Defense Ministry establishments is against the government's ideas. All this serves to illustrate the differences between the views of the government and trade unions, but it does not negate Premier Rakowski's general statement.

Zbigniew Zemler, OPZZ: My second question is more gentle. There are young people outside the main entrance to this building, waving banners that say: We demand an

end to censorship. These are definitely not OPZZ members; after all, it is Alfred Miodowicz who called for an end to censorship at the "roundtable" inaugural meeting, and this demand was reflected in last Thursday's OPZZ resolution. We both belong to the "roundtable" mass media subteam, and we both know that it is the opposition-Solidarity side that is somehow opposed to the idea of abolishing censorship, whereas the government-coalition side is in favor of abolishing it. Is this not a paradox? What do you think?

Urban: I see we are faced with another difference in views. No, the government is not in favor of a complete and immediate abolition of censorship. We see the abolition of censorship as a certain process. But as you are turning this question into a kind of joke, let me say that the fact that the OPZZ is calling for the end of censorship does not clash with the anti-censorship slogans on the banners in front of this building, whoever is holding these banners. I am thankful that it is not OPZZ members. However, I do not think they chose the best place to air their views, because these press conferences have not been censored for years. After all, complete transcripts of these conferences have been published for a long time, and I do not recall any censorship of any transcript.

Michal Broniatowski, REUTER: Was Premier Rakowski's meeting with Soviet Ambassador Brovikov yesterday the result of a Soviet reprimand, or was it a purely Polish idea?

Urban: It was Premier Rakowski's idea to express his regrets to the Soviet ambassador.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Could you tell us exactly how much the memorial of gratitude to the Soviet Union in Krakow was desecrated, and which member of the government was temporarily deprived of his freedom by the demonstrators?

Urban: That government member was Professor Fisiak, minister of national education, who was deprived of his freedom for about 2 hours. He was treated as a hostage, and he was prevented from leaving the school in which he had met with the Krakow education authorities, accompanied by the principal of the Jagiellonian University. We believe this is against Polish political culture and traditions and worthy of the utmost condemnation. The memorial was bombarded with pots of yogurt and paint.

Henryk Sroczynski: Many people say that in view of the expansion of democracy in Poland, the rules governing demonstrations should be relaxed. What do you think?

Urban: The road to changing many regulations is open, and many of them will be changed. However, current regulations also enable the authorities to grant permission for demonstrations, and the authorities are going to grant this permission much more often. For example, today, permission was given for an opposition rally in Szczecin. However, and I warn everyone about this, the authorities are also going to react much more strongly to demonstrations for which no permission has been given, especially aggressive demonstrations that express politically extremist views, demonstrations that may endanger a stabilization of views in Poland. Such demonstrations are already making the West and our neighbors think that Poland is not yet ripe for democracy. We must prevent such a view from spreading.

Krzysztof Leski, Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: Does the government think that every demonstration, even a peaceful one like the one by the Freedom of Speech Movement outside this building at this very moment, is a threat to the "roundtable"? Does no government law constitute such a threat, however much its provisions clash with the decisions reached at the "roundtable"?

Urban: I do not think anything of the picketing that has already become part of the Polish landscape. But since you mention the Freedom and Peace Movement, I have in front of me a leaflet that calls for a rally in Krakow to commemorate the anniversary of the 1921 uprising in Kronstadt. The leaflet says: "Let the anniversary of the Kronstadt uprising be a day of solidarity with those fighting for human rights in the Soviet Union." As we can see, there is such an obsession with demonstrations that people are looking for any pretext whatsoever in order to hold one. I think that the freedom to demonstrate in Poland is expanding, but it should not reach epidemic proportions, because there are more important things for Polish society to devote its attentions to than rallies and demonstrations which the political situation does not justify.

I know of no laws that justify demonstrations against anything. In its efforts to expand the economic reform, the government is presenting before the Sejm bills which serve the reform's implementation. There is national agreement as to the paths of the reform. Society would not be very happy if the government merely sat with its arms folded and waited for the outcome of the "roundtable." Perhaps I have misunderstood something. I am sorry, let me put it right.

Krzysztof Leski, Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: I did not say Freedom and Peace Movement, I said Freedom of Speech Movement, which came into existence last week and is now holding the demonstration outside. By the way, its program is identical to the stance of the "Solidarity" side presented at the "mini-roundtable" that deals with the mass media.

Urban: I have never heard of the Freedom of Speech Movement. We have so many movements. I think freedom of speech is very extensive in Poland, and that a lack of freedom of expression is not one of Polish society's greatest worries today.

Monika Olejnik, Polish radio: Did the militia intervene during the student demonstrations in Krakow?

Urban: Of course it did.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: There were rumors in Krakow yesterday that the minister of national education had threatened the Jagiellonian University with closure. Apparently this threat was contained in a letter from the minister to the university's principal. I have read this letter in the press today, and I did not find any such threat. So was it indeed a rumor, or could it be that not all of the letter was printed?

Urban: The letter was printed in its entirety, therefore you can provide your own answer to your question.

John Daniszewski, AP: I have two questions. First, could you tell us what the government thinks of the legalization of the NZS [Independent Students Union]? Is this a political decision? After all, as far as I understand, a political decision has already been made concerning the legalization of "Solidarity" and "Rural Solidarity."

Urban: No such decision has been made. The principles behind the legalization of these organizations are being drafted, that is all. All the "roundtable" decisions are going to take the form of a single package. Only the principles of and conditions for this final package of decisions are being drafted right now. The same applies to the eventual legalization of the NZS; only the principles behind its eventual legalization are being considered. Yesterday, or rather today, the press carried a communique by the "roundtable" subteam for associations, which examined matters of legalization, including a proposed declaration of intention to legalize an association. This should be considered a contribution toward the final package of "roundtable" decisions, which will form a single whole. However, in light of the Krakow events, the legalization of the NZS is now open to question. The only associations that can be legalized are those whose attitude toward the terms of the Constitution, in other words also toward Poland's alliances, are clear, and those that are ready to observe the law. Therefore, I think it would help promote the NZS' legalization if its members took issue with these extremist excesses in Krakow, with the throwing of stones at the militia, with the anti-Soviet provocation, and with the evil anti-Gorbachev demonstration. No doubt that would help fulfill their hopes of becoming a legal organization.

John Daniszewski: Last week, you said that the inscription on the Katyn memorial would be changed. Can you tell us how it will be changed? Will the inscription point to Soviet, in other words NKVD, responsibility for the murder of the Polish officers?

Urban: I do not know exactly what kind of inscription is going to be put on the monument, but the date that is currently on it will be removed.

Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: Two questions: First, can you confirm whether the Czech embassy has protested against the premiere of the Vaclav Havel play at the Teatr Powszechny [Universal Theater]?

Urban: I know nothing about such a protest.

Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: Second, the "roundtable" participants, and therefore probably you as well, have received a letter from the Maritime Association in Szczecin, a lawfully active body, which sharply protests against Poland's conduct in the territorial dispute with the GDR concerning the Pomeranian Bay. The letter employs strong language. If a final agreement is signed in its presently proposed form, it will be nothing other than a betrayal of the basic interests of the Polish state and people. The letter also says that you have issued statements that diverge from the truth surrounding this issue. Could you comment on this letter, and could you say what stage negotiations on this issue have reached?

Urban: Minister Olechowski discussed the stage of negotiations in the Sejm, and I have nothing to add to that. His speech is still fresh. The words you use are themselves a contradiction, because when an agreement is being negotiated, it means that its final form has not yet been established. I have been accused of lying, but I have seldom, in fact never, encountered documentary evidence of these lies. Because the negotiations are confidential, I have not provided their details, and therefore I could not have lied.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: As we are on the subject of lies, could you tell us what results have been produced by the investigation into charges that you were the victim of slander.

Urban: The investigation has not produced any results. The prosecutor's office has informed me that Mr Leopold Stawekci declined to provide any explanation, although being suspected of slandering the government spokesman, he has a right to do so. Mr Leopold Stawecki insulted me by suggesting that, as he put, I lie for big money, and he is said to have used these words during a conversation with a representative of the American UPI press agency. In view of this, legal action will also involve UPI. We can expect the prosecutor's office to issue a communique.

Andrew Borowiec, THE WASHINGTON POST: Mr Minister, has the government set a deadline for the completion of the "roundtable" negotiations or is it prepared to continue them as long as there is a need to?

Urban: No, we would like them to be speeded up. As I was saying yesterday, we have currently reached a stage where we have a great number of teams, subteams, and working groups that are dealing with a wide variety of issues. These various sets of talks are dealing with an increasing number of detailed issues. This has created a situation in which it would be difficult to bring together all these threads in some accord package, especially as accord is at an advanced stage with regard to some detailed issues, on other issues it is not, and there are yet other issues about which it is unlikely that accord will be reached at all. So one can expect there to be an initiative

aimed at isolating a set of fundamental issues for the "roundtable" and concentrating attention on them so that the roundtable can complete its work and having detailed matters possibly discussed in some other way that would be agreed upon.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Could you please tell us in more precise terms what would be the most important points in this new consensus and second, is it still possible that elections will be held in June?

Urban: The most important points are agreement on socioeconomic issues, a social contract; the question of political and trade union pluralism, its form and rate of development; and the question of nonconfrontational elections, which I hope will be able to take place in June. These are the three areas that make up the package of issues of the greatest importance for the country. If the Sejm makes the appropriate decision, it would be possible to schedule necessary preparations for the elections for the period from March through June so that the elections could actually be held in June.

Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: Mr Minister, could you comment on those aspects of Minister Olechowski's speech and the Sejm resolution that deal with relations with the German states. I would particularly like to know why there was mention of the Potsdam Treaty, which, together with the 1970 Warsaw Treaty, is said to form the cornerstone of those relations, although this was something that was not done in recent years. Why was there no mention of the 1950 Zgorzelec Treaty?

Urban: I do not understand the question. Perhaps you would care to explain what you mean? Why did the minister mention the Potsdam Treaty? He did so, because it is one of the cornerstones of the postwar order in Europe. Why did he not mention the Zgorzelec Treaty? I do not have a copy of the speech at the moment. It is a treaty that defines Poland's western border, the Polish-GDR border. I do not understand what you mean.

Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: I also did not understand why in talking about relations between Poland and the GDR—the GDR's border problems—Minister Olechowski cited the Potsdam agreement and the Warsaw Treaty as providing a foundation, but did not mention the Zgorzelec Treaty. That is what I am concerned about.

Urban: I do not have the text here, so I cannot comment on this interpretation.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: Mr Minister, I noticed that in what you said and in the list of main points that must be settled at the roundtable, you failed to mention the question of establishing the office of president of the PPR. Does this mean that the authorities are prepared to leave out this point and accept that the opposition does not have to go along with the idea?

Urban: I did leave it out and I will now expand on this. In general, the future structure of state authorities and constitutional reforms can also be included among those issues of the greatest importance that could be the subject of an accord. One can expect the first stage to involve amendments to the existing Constitution and the second stage to involve the creation of a new constitution. The presidency question is the subject of controversy.

Pawel Dybicz, SZTANDAR MLODYCH: Could you tell us what measures the authorities are going to take because of the student strikes?

Urban: If there are any more strikes, the government will take measures that are appropriate for the situation at hand.

Pawel Dybicz: Is it possible that "Solidarity" will be legalized but the NZS will not?

Urban: Yes.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Why is there an entire series of "mini-roundtables" when in fact there are only three main issues? Was that the government's idea, or the other side's?

Urban: It was the idea of various "roundtable" participants. It suddenly transpires that there are entire spheres of life which have to be examined, and so successive "roundtable" teams are formed. Our intention is to curtail their work, so that they can finally pass the fruits of their work to the three main teams. In other words, to put it crudely, the point is to gather the work of all these subteams into a single heap.

Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: The Sejm resolution calls for a rapid establishment of relations with the Holy See. How is the government going to react to this resolution? Is it ready to comply? Can we expect the government to reach some concrete decisions in reply to the demands which the church has been putting forth for years? Does the government not think that such a display of good intentions would accelerate the establishment of these relations?

Urban: The government thinks that the best thing to do is complete the legal work on establishing relations with the Vatican as quickly as possible. This work is almost finished in any case. The government is ready to raise diplomatic relations with the Vatican to a new level. It is up to the Holy See to choose the best time for direct talks with the Polish Government on the subject of establishing relations. Right now we are still at the stage of talks between the Polish Government and Episcopate on the one side, and the Holy See on the other.

Jozef Mah'd, WAFA: The abolition of censorship and expansion of democracy are important, but do they involve discrimination toward other nations? An example of this discrimination is an article on foreign students

that was printed on 19 February. What is the government's view of articles like these that appear in the Polish media from time to time?

Urban: I am not familiar this article. I will read it, and if I find anything offensive about it, I will express my apologies.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: Lately, many people on the government side have said that democratization in Poland should be gradual. They say that unless it is gradual, Poland's statehood will be in danger, and the Polish raison d'etat will be in jeopardy. What kind of danger do they mean? After all, Russia and Germany were the traditional dangers to Poland's statehood. Does that mean that in 1989, we can expect either Russia or Germany to enter a chaotic, disorganized Poland?

Urban: We mainly have in mind internal threats, like the ones in 1981, which made it necessary to impose martial law. Even in earlier times, the dangers to Poland's existence were not just external, or, to put it another way, external dangers to this existence arose whenever there was an internal weakening that encouraged them. Therefore, we have in mind mainly internal dangers. A transfer from one type of administration to another must be gradual so that the new democratic institutions have a chance to consolidate, develop, and prove themselves in practice, and so that the political customs to go with them may arise. Despite the American Revolution, which caused a drastic change in political relations, American political relations also took 2 centuries to develop.

John Daniszewski, AP: I have another two questions. Could you explain your answer to my previous question? What I want to know is, did the Soviet Union send some kind of memorandum to the Polish Government that caused Premier Rakowski to meet with the Soviet ambassador because of the events in Krakow, or did the Soviet Union not react until after this meeting?

Urban: The Soviet Union did not react in any way whatsoever, and we received no memorandum from it. As I said, it was the premier's own idea to receive the ambassador and express his regret.

Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: Second, has there been some Soviet reaction to Minister Olechowski's speech in which, among other things, it was suggested that more rapid progress should be made in providing an explanation of the Katyn affair?

Urban: There has been no official reaction. I think that certain elements of pressure from the Polish side will make our Soviet partners intensify their work.

Stefan Dietrich: I did not quite understand your statement concerning the inscription, changing the inscription on the monument to the victims of Katyn. You said that the date will be removed, but it bears no date. Can I assume that the new inscription will contain some date?

Urban: I have never been to the cemetery and I do not know. My colleagues sitting next to me say that it does bear a date. That is also what I was told. I do not have a draft of the new inscription, so I cannot provide a more detailed answer to your question, but if a decision has already been made about a new inscription, my bureau will answer your question. It will either tell you that no decision has been reached or that it has and what the inscription will say.

Ewelia Mettrete, Mexican Television: Mr Minister, during a television statement that you made yesterday—and I would not like this to be taken to mean that I am an advocate of demonstrations and anti-Soviet provocations—you asked how the Polish people would feel if anti-Polish demonstrations were to be organized in the Soviet Union? I would like to ask whether you had something concrete in mind, or whether what you said was some kind of metaphor?

Urban: The question was intended to make the demonstrators think about how they would feel and react if students in the Soviet Union were to hold demonstrations during which the Polish flag, the white eagle, and other Polish national symbols were mocked. Of course, this has not and does not happen in the Soviet Union. What I said was meant to stimulate the underdeveloped imagination of those taking part in the demonstrations.

Joseph Mahd, WAFA: I would like to return to the same subject. Can we expect a definite position to be expressed on this issue at the next press conference?

Urban: I am sorry, but what issue do you mean?

Mahd: The "Baltimore" article and other articles?

Urban: I am not familiar with the article, and moreover the government is not the paper's publisher. However, if someone's national dignity has been offended by the article, the publisher or even the government will find some way of expressing regret. I am not familiar with the article, and I do not understand why it has made you angry.

I still have certain debts to settle. Pan Krzysztof Leski—I do not know what publication he represents—asked me about income tax at the last press conference, and neither I nor Mr Rykowski were able to provide an explanation in reply to his question. Mr Leski said that the tax legislation recently passed by the Sejm is incompatible with the law on economic activity, as the law envisages that the maximum rate of taxation will be 50 percent regardless of whether an enterprise is private or state-owned. However, the law on income tax with regard to physical persons allows for a rate of 85 percent. These doubts stemmed from a careless reading of the law. Income tax levied on all forms of economic activity, and thus on shares of profits, rent, and so on can amount to a maximum of 50 percent. However, a tax rate varying between 5 and 85 percent is applied solely in the case of income from undisclosed

sources, that is, when, for example, tax is levied following an examination of a given person's expenditure. When the level of expenditure clearly exceeds declared income that has been taxed, the treasury can investigate what sources a given person obtained the undisclosed income from and if the person in question does not indicate what the sources of this money are, then the difference between the level of declared income from all sources and expenditure is considered to be income from undeclared sources and is subject to a progressive rate of taxation from 5 to 85 percent. Thus, this is a tax on undisclosed activity.

Second, Mr Stefan Dietrich asked me about the increased availability of pigs and cows for procurement. I said that I cannot analyze the matter, so I will try to provide an explanation now. There are signs that indicate a decreasing trend in cattle and pig breeding and that the present high level of procurement is at least partly a selling off of cattle and pigs in order to reduce their number. The government's first reaction was to increase procurement prices in order to make production more profitable, and the government's second reaction was to increase feed imports. Stocks of feeds are low, because of the poor harvests last year. It is also one of the reasons for the reduction in breeding. From March onward, the supply of feeds from national resources, including imported feeds, should improve. As we know, the government wants to present a clearly supply-oriented concept. In the case of livestock breeding, this means free procurement prices followed by free prices in the meat market generally, along with appropriate financial compensation for consumers. However, we are just at the stage of presenting concrete plans. This is a controversial subject that is prompting a lot of discussion.

Bucharest Rejects Human Rights Criticism

AU0603172789 Paris AFP in English
1716 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Geneva, March 6 (AFP)—Romania rejected Western criticism of the country's poor human rights record Monday, saying Western "judges" were seeking to convert the U.N. Commission on Human Rights into "some sort of tribunal".

"Once again, there is a clear intention of brutal meddling with the affairs of others, of pressure, and dictating to others what they must or must not do," Gheorghe Dolgu, Romania's chief delegate at the commission's 45th session here, said. His statement came after Sweden submitted a resolution calling for a United Nations rapporteur to investigate alleged human rights violations by Romania. The move has been supported by Britain, Australia, France, Portugal, and Austria.

Reports on alleged violations of the rights of Romania's ethnic minorities were "subjective and wrong" and studded with "omissions and distortions", Mr. Dolgu said. Mr. Dolgu told the commission, all ethnic groups in Romania shared "legal guarantees and the means to preserve their cultural identity." He rapped Britain and France for their attitude towards "fringe groups and outcasts of all sorts who number millions".

"Our models cannot be found on the banks of the Seine river, or in Brittany, or Corsica, or in the Basque country, or in New Caledonia, any more than in British cities or in northern Ireland," Mr. Dolgu said.

Daily Comments on European Disarmament

AU2202161589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1414 GMT 22 Feb 89

["SCINTEIA: Building Up Interstate Confidence—an Essential Component of the Process of Achieving European Security and Disarmament"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/2/1989—Including disarmament as a primordial target of its entire foreign policy, Romania tabled a comprehensive programme pursuing the cessation of the arms race, and an effective passage to disarmament which gives pride of place to negotiations and the implementation of confidence- and security-building measures.

The confidence-building measures are political acts unilaterally, bilaterally or multilaterally assumed by states as an integral part of the general efforts towards lessening tension and suspicion in interstate relations, diminishing the danger of an armed conflict following misunderstanding or erroneous interpretation of military activities. In a nutshell, without affecting the defence capacity of states such measures are apt to put conditions in place—from a political and psychological point of view—for real measures of control over armaments and disarmament. They can thus make an effective contribution to the promotion of normal relations among nations, to the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

A consistent promoter of the cause of understanding, security and peace in Europe, Romania constantly declares against shows of force, permanently underlining the need to adopt measures favouring lesser tension and built-up confidence among states. It was among the promoters of the idea that the Helsinki Final Act should include a distinct chapter on interstate confidence-building measures as an essential component of the achievement of European security. Thus, a number of measures were set at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe such as: the notification in advance of wide-scope military maneuvres and movements, exchange of observers for maneuvres, visits by military delegations etc. In consideration of the fact that the confidence-building measures set under the final act were only a beginning, Romania made sustained efforts for the continuation of the process initiated in the Finnish capital, for the deepening, extension and amendment of the measures set to attain the main goal—general and complete disarmament under a strict and efficient international control. In this spirit, Romania has consistently and perseveringly worked for a consensus at the all-European meeting in Madrid on the convening of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and on disarmament in Europe which took part in a first stage in Stockholm over 1984-1986.

Through the proposals it advanced as well as through its entire activity during the conference, Romania made an important contribution to the success of the first confidence-building and disarmament forum in the history of the continent. The fact is significant that alongside the stands of other states, the Romanian proposals and ideas were almost permanently the object of the dialogue among the participating delegations. They often served as starting points in the efforts to identify common or converging elements, to seek generally acceptable solutions. Moreover, during the negotiations, in the more difficult moments or at deadlocks, Romania advanced numerous suggestions, proposals or ideas with a view to overcoming obstacles, drawing stands closer and creating a fruitful climate of cooperation, achieving the final consensus.

The document of the Stockholm conference, which accounts for a substantial progress from the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, stipulates a number of tangible, rigorously defined measures, compulsory and applicable throughout Europe.

The accord achieved in Stockholm was justifiably assessed as the first stage of a vast process, the participating states unanimously agreeing on the need to continue the efforts towards building up confidence and achieving a real security on the continent. Of particular importance is in this respect the decision made at the Vienna all-European meeting on further negotiations on

the development and extension of the measures already covenanted in Stockholm and the adoption of a package of new, more committing measures of building up confidence and security.

The progress made in implementing the measures for the building-up of confidence and security will facilitate the obtainment of results in the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons on the continent, in the resolution of other disarmament problems, which would create, in turn, favourable prerequisites for the further building-up of confidence among states on the continent.

In Romania's opinion the new stage of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures will have to eventually contribute to including the measures to be elaborated on the activity of all categories of armed forces (army, navy and air forces) of the states participating in the CSCE with a view to lessening the danger of another armed conflict in Europe, eliminating the peril of a surprise attack, building up mutual security and facilitating the implementation of disarmament measures.

Consistently acting for the furtherance of the efforts begun at Stockholm, for the calling of a conventional disarmament conference, Romania tabled a number of realistic and constructive proposals at the all-European meeting in Vienna such as the banning of the shows of force and of the vanguard military maneuvres, especially the multinational ones and those that take place at the frontier of other states, the limitation of military activities of the two military alliances, the dismantlement of foreign military bases, and the withdrawal of troops from the territory of other states, the creation of an ever wider corridor, free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the creation along the frontiers between states of 100-150 km wide areas where the employment of armed forces and armament should be strictly forbidden. These proposals, to which of course the other participating states' add, provide a constructive basis for the future Vienna negotiations.

Undoubtedly, the building-up of confidence is not an aim in itself. The "problem of problems" of the international life, of the establishment of security on the continent and in the whole world is the achievement of disarmament. This is the reason for which, in the spirit of a high sense of responsibility for the destinies of the Romanian people, of peace and security worldwide, Romania is determined, as President Nicolae Ceausescu has again underlined, to act with all its forces for the achievement of disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, for the building of a united Europe of peace, collaboration and understanding among all peoples.

Barbulescu Writes on Cooperativization

AU0203202189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 2 Mar 89

["Forty Years Since the Beginning of the Cooperativization of Agriculture in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 02/03/1989—An extensive article contributed by Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, in SCINTEIA to mark 40 years since the beginning of the cooperativization of agriculture in Romania underlines that was an outstanding achievement in the building of socialism in this country.

The article shows among other things:

In the period of socialist construction, especially after the Ninth RCP Congress /1965/ [slantlines as received], the RCP found realistic, creative solutions in the sphere of agrarian policy just as in other domains, which, based on the principles of scientific socialism, complied with the economic, social and political conditions in the country, with the cause of harmoniously, manysidedly developing the new system.

Ever since its foundation, the party of the working class in Romania has asserted itself as a firm defender of the major interests of the peasantry, of all categories of working people, including in its programme the resolution of the agrarian problem, the achievement and continual consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The agrarian reform of 1945 was only a beginning in the resolution of the agrarian question. By abolishing the landlords' class, the reform could modify the structure of the population in the countryside but it could not eliminate the technical backwardness of agriculture, it could not ensure its progress and solve the peasantry's economic and social problems. That is why, once the main means of production in industry became the property of the whole people, the need occurred to set agriculture on new, revolutionary bases. Meeting such an objective demand, the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee of 3-5 March 1949 made the historic decision regarding the socialist transformation of agriculture, the ways and means of carrying it through.

Concentrating on such a matter, which is one of the most complex goals of building the new system, the RCP based its revolutionary option on the truth that the small-scale production, characterized by low technological standards and, hence, low productivity, was an obstacle not only to increasing farm output and the peasantry's standard of living but also to developing the economy as a whole. The basic principle that guided the wide-embracing political-organizational activity for the socialist transformation of villages was that of making millions of small agricultural producers believe and understand that it was in their interests and in the interest of society to unite their means of production and, especially, their lands and to pass on to the cooperative ownership which, alongside with the state property in agriculture, is a solid basis for its development and modernization.

The revolutionary process of building socialist agriculture relied on a vast and tenacious political work of explanation and elucidation, of making people believe that the way of cooperativization and public property were the only ones conducive to general welfare. So, in

Romania the transition to public, socialist property in agriculture did not generate the peasant's estrangement from land or difference to common assets.

Throughout the cooperativization of the Romanian agriculture which took about 14 years, despite the difficulties inherent in any beginning and the efforts toward providing the appropriate technical and material base, the agricultural production continued to grow. As the Romanian experience shows, the socialist agrarian revolution, and the steady concern for the integration of agriculture into the process of economic and social development are constitutive, essential elements of the building of the new system and of its general progress, a prerequisite for the making up of a unitary socialist economy.

The formation and continual improvement of the socialist relations of production in agriculture and the consolidation of the big socialist property—state and cooperative—are a basis for a fast-rate development of agriculture. After the Ninth RCP Congress the role of agriculture was reconsidered and a passage was firmly made to doing away with the tendencies manifest in the first years of socialist construction, those of understimating this economic branch, and action was taken to make it effectively become an essential component of the national economy apt to increasingly contribute to raising the national income. In keeping with such an orientation, the technical and material base of agriculture and the socialist property in this area have powerfully developed. It is only the existence of the big socialist property that allowed for the mechanization of agriculture, the extension of chemicalization, the application of the advances in science, the implementation of comprehensive programmes for a higher quality of land and growing fertility, and the achievement of new irrigation systems thought to be among the most extensive ones in Europe if the country's surface is considered, all this resulting in growing productions in all agricultural sectors, of which nobody could ever think a couple of decades ago. So, in the last few years, the grain output exceeded 30 million tons annually as compared to 7.7 million tons over 1950-1955. Romania's farm output was ninefold bigger in 1988 than in 1945. The average outputs grew 9 times with wheat, 21 times with maize, 4.5 times with sunflower and 5.2 times with sugar beet.

Last year, though there were less favourable conditions, the cereal production stood at 32.6 million tons, as more than 250 state and cooperative farming units averaged over 8,000 kgs of wheat and barley and more than 20 tons of corn cobs per hectare.

Some 10 million tons of field vegetables, nearly 2.9 million tons of fruit and 2.5 million tons of grapes were also obtained. As for the per-capita production, which is a highly significant factor, last year the grain production was of 1,415 kgs from 315 kgs in 1950. The production of potatoes and vegetables grew from 167 to 700 kgs per inhabitant, that of meat from 39.5 To 112.4 kgs, of milk from 140.6 to 243.1 litres, of eggs from 67 to 379 pieces.

The vast investment programmes for agriculture materialized in the development of 3.7 million hectares or so for irrigation, hundreds of thousands of tractors, self-propelled combines and other modern, high-performance farm machinery and equipment which provide for the complete mechanization of the main operations. Agriculture also benefits by significant funds for land improvement and soil-erosion control works, by appreciable quantities of chemical and organic fertilizers, of amendments to fully use the productive potential of land.

The accomplishment of the new agrarian revolution has, as essential components, the development and modernization of the production forces—the most dynamic element in the evolution of society.

Starting from its own experience, as well as from the world experience which shows that now science is the major factor of progress, the RCP places scientific research and advanced technology in the centre of the process of implementing the new agrarian revolution. In accordance with such an orientation, a wide network of research units developed and the human and material potential of scientific research in agriculture has continually grown. In agriculture there are 28 research institutes, 94 research stations, and 6 higher learning institutes staffed with a great number of experts.

Considering the decisive role of manpower in the accomplishment of the new agrarian revolution, in the intensive development and modernization of agriculture, the RCP and state leadership pay special attention to providing this branch with specialists, improving the training of farmers and of all workers in agriculture. The number of graduates of high schools and higher learning units working in agriculture rose about three times in 1988 from 1965, and rich experience was acquired in the organization of various professional improvement forms for the cooperative members.

The revolutionary changes in the economic, social and spiritual structure of Romanian villages were conducive to turning the peasantry into a new, homogenous class, having a unitary social ideal and being master of the means of production, of the fruits of its work, that linked its existence to socialism, to the big modern production for good and all.

In the forty years that passed since the beginning of cooperativization of agriculture, more than 1.5 million houses were built in the countryside, the designs for the modernization of rural settlements were translated into fact, and schools, hospitals, dispensaries, kindergartens, creches for children, "Song to Romania" centres of culture and creation were built. Urban facilities were also created owing to which many communes became towns.

Owing to their development and modernization, the producer cooperative farms and the other economic units have provided new jobs, the activity in agriculture turning into a variant of industrial work, the life and activity in the countryside being ever closer to those in town.

The application of the overall agreement and the improvement of this form of payment according to the quantity and quality of the work done provide for ever bigger profits. The recently adopted measures regarding the payment in kind in higher percentages are apt to raise the incomes of all workers in agriculture stimulating them to more actively participate in the development of public property—the basis for the attainment of all social and personal accomplishments.

The legislative and organizational framework was created for the ensurance of a democratic management of agriculture, for the participation of the whole peasantry in decision-making and management. The national union and the county unions of producer cooperative farms were set up, and the congress of peasantry was instituted as the highest forum of democratic management in agriculture which elects the national council of agriculture. Broad and representative collective management bodies were institutionalized and the joint state and cooperative agroindustrial councils were created. The role and responsibility of the cooperative's general meetings and of their management boards have grown. More than 80,000 cooperative farmers, technicians, engineers, economists are members of the management boards in cooperative farms and in their county unions, making an essential contribution to improving activity in agriculture, by using their experience and spirit of initiative. In this five-year period and in the next one, agriculture has highly important tasks to fulfil which require best use of existing reserves and faster rise of all counties and agricultural sectors to the level of the exigencies posed by the new agrarian revolution.

Agrarian Revolution Gives Boost to Agriculture

AU1702201489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 17 Feb 89

["The New Agrarian Revolution To Give Strong Impetus to the Socialist Agriculture"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 17/02/1989—An article titled as above in SCINTEIA writes inter alia: In the complex process of socialist construction in Romania, a central place was and is held by the agrarian revolution, viewed as an inseparable and indestructible part of the socialist revolution and construction, of the whole economy. Implemented stagewise, in an organized manner and at a normal pace, it took various forms, ways and modalities contingent upon the specific conditions and facts in the Romanian agriculture and the experience acquired along the years.

The characteristic of the Romanian agrarian revolution in all its stages has been the continuity of the actions of socialist transformation of farming, basically progressive political, economic and social actions. The distinct stages of the agrarian revolution in Romania had each a well-determined place and role. Thus, the profoundly democratic agrarian reform of 1945—the first agrarian revolution in Romania—led to the liquidation of the properties of great landowners and the eradication of the peasants' centuries-old exploitation once and for all. The small-scale goods production was extended and developed after the peasants without land or with small lots had been given land, henceforth the social ownership structure in agriculture changed through and through, the first state farm units were created on part of the expropriated land, units which had the great mission to prove the superiority of the great socialist agriculture. The worker-peasant alliance came into being and consolidated—unshakeable base of our socialist system.

The second agrarian revolution in Romania, which emerged as an objective necessity of the intensification and modernization of the farm production and as basic, decisive requisite for the country's economic and social progress in the socialist construction, was the socialization of agriculture and the cooperativization of peasant farmsteads. This revolution—the amplest and deepest revolution in the millenium-old history of the Romanian village—had multiple political, economic, organizational and social significations, both for the development of agriculture and the country's general progress, for the grandiose work of socialist construction. Led by the party, the socialization of agriculture took 14 years and ended successfully in April 1962 marking the full and definitive victory of socialism in Romania, the building of a unitary socialist economy the country over. Likewise, the socialization of agriculture provided the organizational, economic and social prerequisites for the final settlement of the agrarian problem in Romania, provided the conditions for an intensive, modern, high-yield agriculture, relying on the latest gains of science and technology.

After the completion of the process of socialization of agriculture and mostly after the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) important measures and technical, organizational, economic and social actions were undertaken to ensure the development and economic and organizational consolidation of the state and cooperative farm enterprise. The outcome was a steady growth of agriculture, marking a substantial increase of the contribution of agriculture to the overall development of the national economy, to the general economic and social progress of the country, the rise in the peasants' standard of living, and the civilization degree of villages and communes.

The 12th RCP Congress evinced that a passage should be made to the implementation of a new and deep-going agrarian revolution, the third agrarian revolution in Romania. The RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu

scientifically substantiated the concept, targets and directions of action for the implementation of the new agrarian revolution. Seen as a complex, long-term process—technical, organizational, economic, social and educative—the new agrarian revolution extends to all the sectors and domains of activity in agriculture. Its targets are extensive actions and measures, quantitatively and mostly qualitatively, both in the domain of forces and relations of production and in the mass education and in the sphere of thinking and social conscience.

The achievements scored along these lines in the ten years elapsed since the start of the new agrarian revolution are telling. Thus, investments made in agriculture, as a basic factor of technico-scientific progress, are five times larger in this five-year period alone than in the 1961-1965 period. Properly distributed and managed these considerable investments, are behind the building of an impressive number of agroindustrial units which have made a substantial contribution to growth of labour productivity and economic efficiency. Worth mentioning in this respect is the extension of land improvement works and chemicalization which are decisive factors in raising fertility. At the beginning of this year 3,750,000 hectares were irrigated as compared with 230,000 hectares in 1965, 3,404,000 hectares were drained and soil erosion was controlled on 2,490,000 hectares. In the last ten years the mechanization means and the electrification of work processes have seen powerful development. Now a tractor should work on only 57 hectares, all mechanical means diversified and improved. High growth rates were also registered with the other basic technical and material components of agriculture: farmstead construction, vineyards, tree plantations, production animals, and others. The head of cattle and sheep doubled, while that of pigs grew sevenfold as to 1950.

Since the completion of cooperativization and, especially, after 1979, the manpower resources were restructured and improved which led to higher performance of operations and the ensurance of experts and skilled workers. The agricultural science of an applicative and fundamental character advanced, the results of scientific research were applied and generalized, activity has improved in relation to a planned unitary management of agriculture, the masses' democratic participation in running and scientifically organizing production and work, to a better use of the products obtained, and to growing material incentives given to workers and farmers on the basis of the self-administration principles. The socialist ownership, distribution and exchange relations have steadily developed and improved, the masses' political, ideological, scientific, cultural and civilization standards rose, which brought about higher social consciousness the masses' growing participation in production and in the strengthening of order and discipline at work, as well as increasing public wealth.

All these quantitative and qualitative changes have obviously contributed to the advancement of the Romanian agriculture, to substantially growing plant and animal outputs. The dynamism of the Romanian agriculture after the Ninth RCP Congress reflects in an about threefold growth of the cereal production in the current five-year plan interval from that in 1961-1965 which averaged 10.9 million tons a year. Considerable increases were also scored with the other agricultural sectors: technical cultures, vegetable, tree and vine growing, and animal breeding. The qualitative facet of the powerful impetus the new agrarian revolution imparted to the unparallelled growth of agriculture is also apparent in the fact that since 1986 an ever larger number of state and cooperative farming units have achieved productions that comply with the demands of the new agrarian revolution, obtaining 7,000-8,000 kg wheat and barley per hectare, 20,000-25,000 kg corn cobs per hectare, 4,000 kg sun flower and soybean per hectare, as well as 5,000-5,800 l milk and 10-14 kg wool. Such achievements were conducive to narrowing the production gaps that separated Romania from the agriculturally advanced countries a couple of years ago.

Till 1995 the Romanian agriculture is to obtain at least 45 million tons of cereals. The production in vegetable, tree, vine and technical plant growing, the pasture and hayfield yields will also grow accordingly. In animal breeding, outputs will also increase substantially.

The complexity of the factors which contribute to carrying through the agrarian revolution just as the inherent difficulties of agricultural activities lead to the conclusion that this process takes a long time and requires thorough thinking, better organization and the harmonization of the planning and management system with the ever growing demands of a modern, intensive agriculture. [sentence as received]

Application of 'Scientific' Price Policy Viewed

AU0603173389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 6 Mar 89

["Scientific Price Policy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/3/1989—The application of the concept of self-administration and self-financing to the Romanian economy has pointed to the need for increasing the role of the economic and financial factors in the efficient administration of the material, money and labour resources society entrusts the enterprise with, by means including the improvement of the system of price formation.

Romania was among the first socialist countries to have developed an improved system of prices. As early as the National Conference of the RCP of 1967, it was emphasized that the existence of economically irrelevant prices rendered difficult to a great extent the analysis of the amount of social expenditures included in products, the actions for raising labour productivity and cutting down material expenditures, and the real assessment of the results of every enterprise's activity.

The preoccupations in this domain materialized in the law of prices and tariffs endorsed soon after the conference. Subsequently, the system of price formation was improved as the new economic and financial system was turned to advantage. The correlation upon economic principles of the production and delivery prices in economy in the early'80s ensured the perfectly controlled evolution of retail prices and tariffs for services.

A new law in this domain was passed in the Parliament in the spring of 1988. It pursues two fundamental targets. First, through a new modality of production price formation—a revamping of remunerativeness, profit and producer's price within strict limits in relation to the planned cost—the economic and financial results of the producer are meant to become dependent only on its effort and contribution. Second, through the differentiation of the delivery prices for export in relation to the delivery price for the home market, a powerful instrument is set at work—for the enterprise and its working personnel—to encourage the production meant for export.

Under the law, the production prices are set upon the planned cost plus the average 6-8 per cent remunerativeness for exportables, which grows by up to 10 per cent for convertible currency trade and by up to 6 per cent for the trade with the socialist countries. With the horizontal industry products, the production prices include a remunerativeness of at least 2.5 per cent and five per cent at the most for internal consumption. This remunerativeness grows by some two per cent if the respective products are meant for indirect export and by 3.5 per cent for direct export. The production and retail sale prices remain unchanged, with the remainder, when the previous production price is deducted from the price formed by the abovementioned criterium, going to the budget in form of tax on goods turnover. Likewise, any rise in the profit achieved on account of price rise goes to the state budget. These principles are applied to both material production and services. The remunerativeness for internal consumption with services is of up to five per cent.

In its price policy, Romania starts from the principle that, in the conditions of the socialist economy, the settlement of the relations between producers and consumers has a purposeful character, and is achieved through economic and social planning. Consequently, the prices are rigorously planned, with the provisions in this domain making up a special section of the single national plan of socio-economic development. As for the retail sales and tariffs for services, the directives of the 13th Congress of the RCP for the 1986-1990 five-year period and the perspective guidelines by 2000 stipulate that they should keep within the planned limits of 1.1-1.3 per cent a year. In the period elapsed of the current five-year period, this index has been strictly observed. In fact, the indices of price evolution have been below annual plan provisions. The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, analyzing recently the evolution of the 1988 production and sale prices, has noted that they have remained at the level of 1987, being even lower in industry. The situation is similar as regards prices of the farmfood produce sold by farm producers.

The systematic rising of remunerations as the required economic conditions are provided, without price changes, is also a steadfast practice in the RCP economic policy. Such an action—regarding the general rise in pays and pensions by ten per cent on the average—is about to be concluded. It entails a rise of some 29 billion lei in the general remuneration fund and of 2.4 billion lei in the pension fund.

Romanian, German Physicists Develop New Theory

AU0603171989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0858 GMT 6 Mar 89

["A New Theory of Disintegration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/3/1989—A team of researchers including Marin Ivascu, Dorin Poenaru, Aurel Sandulescu from the Nuclear Physics and Engineering Institute in Bucharest, and Walter Greiner from the Frankfurt University have worked out a series of physical models and calculations leading, as a world first, to an absolutely original scientific theory recognized by specialist literature as one of the most important in modern physics. On the basis of results accumulated by the Central Physics Institute following the carrying through of a vast research programme led by Valentin Ceausescu, the above mentioned team identified new types of radioactivity and developed a theory according to which a wider range of disintegrations occurs in nature than it was believed so far. Thus, for the beginning, 160 new types of radioactivity resulted, for which a law of probability of their unfolding was synthesized.

The theory worked out by the Romanian and German researchers breathes a new life into physics, highlighting the existence of phenomena so far unexplored in a realm which has largely been considered as exhausted.

The Romanian and German experts are currently developing and improving new physical models offering a guide for the investigations conducted by researchers throughout the world. Physicists in various countries have confirmed experimentally the theoretical prognostic made in Bucharest and Frankfurt. So far, extensive charts have been set up foreseeing the possibility of nuclear division of about 800 substances in nature.

At the invitation of the prestigious CRC press in the U.S.A., Marin Ivascu and Dorin Poenaru are integrally drafting volume one and numerous chapters of the second and third volumes of the treatise titled Emission of Nucleus Particles, a major work of disintegration physics. They are also delivering lectures at international conferences and seminars in Japan, the USSR, East Germany and France.

According to the statement made by Romanian researcher Dorin Poenaru, "these new types of radioactivity occur with a smaller probability than alpha disintegration but some of them develop very powerful kinetic energies. We are entitled to hope that in the near future resounding processes will be discovered increasing their probability and that the phenomenon will find fundamental practical applications. In future for instance 'clean reactors' could be developed, based on 'cold fission' of sizably lower harmful radiations."

The sure thing is that the new theory developed by Romanian and German physicists contributes to the more thorough exploration of the structure of matter, rounding off the image of nuclear disintegrations known so far.

Achievements in Shipbuilding Examined

AU0703115389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 7 Mar 89

["Romanian Ship-Building—A Wider Range of Products"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 7/3/1989—Romania currently runs many shipyards. The "dean" of Romanian-ship-building is the shipyard in Constanta, that has been in operation ever since 1892. Just like the shipyards in Braila, Galati, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, the one in Constanta first made especially [as received] repairs on small-tonnage ships and built mainly cutters and pontoons, sloops, barges, with a displacement below 1000 tons.

In the post-war period, especially in the last two-to-three decades, Romanian ship-building has considerably developed. Following the vigorous increase of the productive potential, as well as to the updating and diversification of the manufacturing at the shipyards in existence—Constanta, Galati, Braila, Giurgiu, Oltenita and Drobeta-Turnu Severin, as well as following the setting up of new units—in Tulcea and Mangalia, the Romanian ship-building has grown at high rates, and has diversified remarkably its production. Whereas in 1950 the largest ship built by the specialty Romanian industry was the 1200 hp tug-boat, the largest ship built in 1988 at the shipyard in Constanta was a 150,000 dwt oil-tanker. More than 130 types of sea- and river-going ships were assimilated and put to manufacturing in that period of time.

An important contribution in this respect has been made by the ICEPRONAV Institute of Naval Research and Design in Galati, that developed big-capacity ships for most varied uses; cargo vessels between 1,600 and 15,000 dwt; bulk-carriers between 12,000 dwt and 165,000 dwt; oil-tankers 5,000 dwt, 35,000 dwt, 85,000 dwt, up to 150,000 dwt; ro-ro boats, ferry boats, 12,000 dwt; port-container ships, refrigerating ships, ocean fishing super-trawlers, coast fisher boats, passenger ships; river pusher boats, with powers ranging between 600 hp and 4,800 hp; port and way tug-boats, 600 hp-4,800 hp; tanker barges, 1,500 tonnes for the transportation of oil products; general cargo barges, up to 3,000 tons, used especially to carry goods by the Danube-Black Sea Canal; and dredgers, lighters, floating cranes, other equipment for sea and river ports as well as for hydrotechnical works.

The Galati shipyard started a few years ago the building of off-shore drilling rigs in the making of which participated tens upon tens of machine-building enterprises across the country. The shipyard on the Danube has built so far seven such drilling rigs, all of them emplaced in the Romanian continental shelf of the Black Sea. Some of them—Gloria for instance—are already in operation, supplying crude and gas. They contribute to the carrying through of the national program of capitalization of the hydrocarbon deposits under the seabed.

Romania's ship production grew from the few units with a total displacement of 4,000 dwt, in 1951, to ships with a total capacity by over 120 times bigger by 1988. It is currently one of the major European producers of sea- and river-going ships.

Virtually coping with all requirements of the national merchant fleet, Romania's naval industry also has important export availabilities. Of its manufacturing list many types of ships are delivered to commercial companies and to shipowners in various countries. Likewise, the Romanian specialty industry offers services through specialized organizations.

Joining in the international market almost two decades ago, the Romanian ship-building industry has continued and amplified its export activity, delivering a wide range of ships, including barges, tug-boats, motor ships, cargo vessels etc, of various uses and capacities, even up to 65,000 dwt. There are buyers of Romanian ships in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, People's Republic of China, Cuba, Greece, the USSR, Norway, etc.

Progress of Arges River Project Noted

AU0303125489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1149 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/3/1989—The Romanian constructors working on the development of Arges River for navigation, irrigations and other uses have had remarkable results since the beginning of the year. They finished the Cornetu Dam and are building the water-power plant located there with its accumulation lake which will allow for the storage of 80 million cubic meters of water. Works proceed at a steady pace at the Gostinari hydropower project, where the hydroelectric station and the lock are in an advanced stage of construction, and at the Budesti hydropower project, where excavations for the accumulation lake are paralleled by the concrete-casting works of the dam and the construction proper of the waterpower plant.

Arges River is developed to be the Danube-Bucharest waterway with two ports: One at Oltenita and another at 30 December, five hydropower stations with locks for barge transshipment, and six road bridges and one railway bridge which will cross the new waterway.

New Thermal Power Station Connected to Grid
AU0603174089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1435 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/3/1989—The third 50 MW power generation unit of the Oradea-2 thermo-electric power station was connected to the national grid. It is one of the most important power stations of the current five-year programme. When this thermopower station is finished, the installed power for the production of coal-fuelled electric energy in Bihor County will increase by 75 per cent as compared to the one existing at the beginning of this five-year period.

Last year, power units of over 300 MW went on line in Romania, among which the power generating units of 50 mw at the Iasi-2, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Oradea-2 and Bucharest-Progresul thermopower stations.

Important thermo-electric and district heating units are under construction in Turceni, Craiova, Iasi, Suceava, Bucharest and in Brasov, Bacau and Timisoara.

The Romanian industry of power equipment—which includes tens of enterprises, of which we mention the Bucharest heavy-duty machine enterprise, the Resita machine-construction enterprise, the "Vulcan" enterprise of Bucharest—currently provides most of the equipment required by the construction of electric plants.

Assembly To Meet 16 Mar To Name New Government
LD0703030289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 6 Mar 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Both chambers of the Assembly of Yugoslavia, which are to name the new prime minister and the members of his cabinet, will meet on March 16, it was said during consultations between mandatary Ante Markovic and Assembly officials here today.

On March 15, the delegates of both chambers will discuss the initiative to change the law on organization and competence of (?federal) administrative organs and the Law on Government. These two laws are to set the prerequisites for the election of the new government in accord with the ammendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, adopted last November.

Outgoing Prime Minister Branko Mikulic's government, which resigned on December 31, had 19 members, 12 of whom were without portfolio.

The amendments to the federal Constitution abolished the obligation that the government be made up on republican and provincial parity, and Markovic said that there will be fewer ministers in his cabinet. It is expected that there will be less departmental committees, some of which will be abolished and some merged into existing ministries.

During his tour of Yugoslavia early this year, the premier-designate received full support for the reduction of the state apparatus and the reconstruction of the government. Markovic received a unanimous support for his market oriented reform of the economic policy designed to curb 300-percent inflation, help Yugoslavia's opening to the world and promote an effective economy.

Social Democrats Question Presidency's Authority
AU0503193889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Relja Atanasijevic commentary]

[Text] In a statement to the public, the leadership of the newly founded Slovene Social Democratic Alliance contested the SFRY Presidency's competence in assessing that the founding of political alliances, which is to say the founding of parties, is unconstitutional and unlawful. In the same statement, the Presidium of the social democratic organization used the opportunity to extend full support to the meeting of solidarity that was held in the Cankar Hall. The meeting was called: Against the Introduction of the State of Emergency in Kosovo. No Social Democrat took part in the discussion at the meeting. Here is a commentary by Relja Atanasijevic:

After a delay of several days, the leadership of the newly founded Slovene Social Democratic Alliance felt that it was necessary to publicly express its view on topical issues in the country. It supported the stands of the meeting that was held in the Cankar Hall concerning the events in Kosovo, and in this way showed its views on this problem.

Considering the present crisis situation in Yugoslavia and, as it stated, attacks on Slovenia, the Presidium also expressed full support for Slovenia's policies and the republican political leadership, which strives to preserve the sovereignty and constitutional rights of Slovenia. This is a typical tactical, but not a (?well-thought-out) move. It is worth saying that until recently the leadership of the Slovene Social Democrats was saying that it did not have a nice opinion of the Socialist Alliance, which it had said did not have a future in our political system.

Let us recall that in addition to this, the leader of the Social Democrats, France Tomsic, said in an interview with a foreign newspaper that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the most common type of mafia, yet nobody was called to account for making this serious insult. Perhaps this is a quasi-democratic right in the struggle for power and the creation of conditions for the Social Democratic Alliance to become a party.

In its statement to the public, the leadership of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance contested the SFRY Presidency's right to negate the constitutionality and legality of the new democratic alliances, saying that because of this kind of interference and assessments by unable and incompetent people, our country is on the periphery of Europe.

The leadership of the alliance particularly stressed the fact that the constitutionality and legality of democratic alliances can only be judged by the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, and in the case of Slovenia, primarily by the republican Constitutional Court.

As events turned out, the republican public prosecutor, Pavle Car, stated that none of the legal documents of Yugoslavia prohibit the founding of new parties. Confusing the terms party and political alliance, he said: If the SFRY Presidency wants to ban parties, then it must also ban the Socialist Alliance. Playing with words, whether deliberately or not, Pavle Car caused confusion by asking himself whether in Slovenia it was parties or political alliances that were operating under the auspices of the Socialist Alliance. Perhaps the republican public prosecutor himself knows the answer to this question.

TANJUG Supports SFRY Presidency Measures
LD2802160189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 28 Feb 89

[TANJUG commentary entitled: "Eight Days and Eight Years"]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The latest tumultuous events in the country testify that Yugoslavia is facing a crucial test, not because of the economic crisis,

declining living standards or high unemployment but because of the specter of nationalism which threatens the survival of the state.

The counterrevolution in Kosovo Province has lasted for eight years, just as long as the incomprehensible doubt in the tragedy of the Serbs and Montenegrins and obvious destructive separatist activity of Albanian nationals which directly jeopardizes the territorial integrity of the country. In Yugoslavia there has been no genuine desire, readiness or efficiency to end the exodus. No suffering, crime or act of barbarity have been reason enough for a human word of protest and things have remained unchanged.

But only eight days of a strike by ethnic Albanians in Trepca were enough to launch the thesis on a "pogrom" of the Albanian people in Kosovo and Macedonia.

Yesterday's meeting of solidarity with the Trepca miners in the Slovenian capital was attended by the entire republican leadership. Never in the last eight years have Slovenians gathered in such numbers to protest against the persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins, their evictions from their ancient homes, their rape, the barbarian destruction of their sacred things and the opening of the graves of their children.

Thus the events in Ljubljana are another blow to mutual understanding and unity. No one should be indifferent to the eight-day drama of the Kosovo miners. Slovenian party leader Milan Kucan is right in saying that "No one shall have the right to square political accounts with miners' lives. [no closing quotation mark as received] Unfortunately, this is precisely the point. Those seeking to undermine the party's policy on Kosovo have used the miners as pawns in a bid to fulfill their political appetites.

Whoever does not realise that the state Presidency's measures are aimed at preserving the integrity of Yugoslavia obviously does not care about this integrity.

Azem Vlasi's Career, Actions Scrutinized

AU0503185489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Zivorad Jerotijevic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The arrest of Azem Vlasi represents first-class sensation, not only because of his brilliant political biography, but also because the recently established suspicion that he has committed a criminal act has broken the barrier of hesitation toward and the embargo on publishing the names of the inspirers and organizers of the November and February demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

Vlasi was the leader of the youth organization for a time until 1980. He had a permanent reservation at the places where one was supposed to be seen and where decisions were made. After that, he became actively involved in politics in Kosovo. First he held the top posts in the Pristina LC Committee and the provincial SAWP.

He was regarded as an Albanian who had a strong pro-Yugoslav orientation. He was given credit for describing the famous unrest in Kosovo in 1981, which started in the student canteen of Pristina University by its real name, demonstrations, despite all the opposition to this. Shortly after that, he reached the very top of the Kosovo party establishment and eventually became the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and thus, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

In the course of the last 2 years, however, Vlasi's authority gradually started to crumble, partly because of his numerous controversial public statements and unconvincing denials, and mostly because of political moves which, mildly put, eroded his pro-Yugoslav orientation.

Azem Vlasi's political stumbling ended in his arrest on the basis of a well-founded suspicion that, through his activities concerning the events in Kosovo in November of last year and February of this year, he committed criminal acts punishable according to the SFRY Penal Code. This was preceded by his removal from the membership of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

In the interest of the investigation conducted by the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs, it has not been stated what activities he was involved in, but it is quite clear that Vlasi's arrest constitutes one of the measures undertaken to establish the accountability of the organizers of the events in Kosovo.

His mysterious visit to the Stari Trg miners and his subsequent admission that he had done so, although he only admitted this when irrefutable proof was presented to him; and his triumphal visit with the student demonstrators in the 25 May sports hall, as well as his secret visits to Zagreb and Ljubljana, should certainly be linked to some specific activities which have so far not been revealed to the public, activities which one cannot say were of an anticounterrevolutionary nature, but that were in fact completely the opposite.

How, when, and why Vlasi has clashed with, above all, his old ideas and the ones he had as youth leader is not difficult to guess. The initial belief in the spontaneous counterrevolution in Kosovo from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism eventually burst like a soap bubble. It became obvious that the key part of the Bujan resolution, which, let us recall, envisaged the annexation of Kosovo and Metohija to the People's Republic of Albania, had at least a twofold effect: It served as an inspiration to the long and carefully conducted indoctrination of Albanians in Yugoslavia, primarily of young people, and it perfectly fit in a considerably broader

concept, the concept of a great Albania which would include Kosmet and parts of Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia, all the way up to Nis and Prokupje.

This concept, as is known, was resolutely rejected by Yugoslav politicians as far back as World War II, although one must say that even at that time, there were some, let us say, democratic forces in one wing of the revolution which were ready to flirt, if not to cooperate.

In the postwar development of Yugoslav federalism, this combination completely disappeared from the scene, but not from the heads of some Albanian intellectuals who were educated in Tirana before the war. The most prominent among them are Fadil Hodza, David Nimani, and Veli Deva.

However, during the 1970's, when fierce political battles were waged over constitutional amendments, the idea that relations in the federation should proceed from the premise weak Serbia—strong Yugoslavia was promoted and eventually supported. The culmination of this absurd idea, not only from the legal, but from the logical point of view as well, was reached with the adoption of the provision of the republican Constitution—which did not even have any legal basis in the federal Constitution—according to which the Serbian Constitution cannot be changed without the consent of the province.

The process of the state and political independence and alienation of the provinces from Serbia lasted several years. In Vojvodina the autonomist-separatist center assumed power, while the idea of the Bujan resolution was revitalized in Kosovo. However, since the frequently voiced demands that Kosovo be granted the status of a republic were energetically rejected, Fadil Hodza and like-minded people thought that they could realize this demand through political demonstrations and the support of the apathetic part of Yugoslavia. The situation was somehow normalized and those who incited the riots that took place in March and April of 1981 received a serious political blow.

However, this idea had also been smoldering among the people and erupted again in November of last year and February of this year when the amendments to the Serbian Constitution, which are returning the prerogatives of the state sovereignty to the republic, became almost a fait accompli.

About that time, presumably for career reasons—although one should not exclude other motives either—Azem Vlasi and some other people accepted with open hands the idea imported from the more civilized parts of the country, according to which the amendments to the Serbian Constitution represent a quiet turnabout which is persistently changing the essence of Yugoslavia as viewed by the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. This view, which perceives and interprets the attempts to correct a historic injustice and remove the provinces' authority over Serbia and in this way make this republic equal to other republics—as is after all envisaged by the second AVNOJ meeting—as the imposition of centralist amendments, is strange or at least problematic. Seen from that point of view, the hesitation to initiate the question of the political accountability of Azem Vlasi for, among other things, playing a brutal game with the lives of the Stari Trg miners, is completely understandable, but is also completely unacceptable.

Controversy Over Bucin's Description of Measures

SFRY Presidency Denies Claim

AU2402165989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 89 p 5

[TANJUG report: "An Arbitrary Claim"]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb—At a discussion forum at the youth center in Titograd on 17 February, Comrade Nenad Bucin, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, stated among other things that the final decision on the introduction of emergency measures in the SR of Montenegro last October was officially made by the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro, but he was deeply convinced that it was made "in telephone conversations between Radovic and Suvar, and between Ivanovic and Dizdarevic."

The Press and Information Bureau of the SFRY Presidency has been authorized to state that Comrade Bucin's claim was arbitrary and incorrect.

LCY Presidium on Statement

AU2402164289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 89 p 5

[TANJUG report: "It Does Not Correspond to the Truth"]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb—"The Secretary for Information and Propaganda of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is informing the public that the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the president of the Presidium did not in any way take part in making the decision about introducing emergency measures in the SR of Montenegro last October. Therefore, the recent statement by Comrade Nenad Bucin at the discussion forum at the youth center in Titograd, which was reported in the media, does not correspond to the truth and is arbitrary speculation," it is said in an announcement.

Bucin Explains Comment

AU0703091989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "This Is an Assumption, Not an Assertion"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb—I did not express my personal belief that the decision concerning the introduction of urgent measures (actually emergency measures) in Montenegro in October of 1988 was preceded by the consultations between the most responsible comrades from the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium as a categorical assertion, but as an established assumption. I cannot accept the explanation contained in the "statement" issued by the LCY Central Committee Section for Information and Propaganda Activities that my assumption represents an "arbitrary speculation," mainly because this statement is sheer nonsense, and because it is incorrect and was drawn from a stale arsenal of political accusations.

This was stated to TANJUG today by Nenad Bucin, member of the SAWPY Presidium, following yesterday's statements by the press departments of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium concerning Bucin's recent speech at a discussion forum at the youth center in Titograd. As is known, on that occasion, Bucin said that the final decision on the introduction of urgent measures in the SR of Montenegro in October of last year was officially made by the Montenegrin Presidency, but that he was deeply convinced that the decision was in fact made on the basis of the telephone conversations between Radovic and Suvar, and Ivanovic and Dizdarevic. The following is the text of Bucin's statement:

"Not owning a 'press bureau' or a 'section for information and propaganda activities,' and not being protected by them as my opponents Comrades Raif Dizdarevic and Dr Stipe Suvar were yesterday—whom I mentioned at the discussion forum at the youth center in Titograd, assuming that they were consulted in connection with the 'October measures' in Montenegro—and being sincerely sorry not be able to correspond with them and only them (because to tell the truth, I do not have any personal business with 'bureaus' and 'sections'), I am to reply as quickly as possible, so that I am not 5 days late as they were, and I say the following:

"My personal belief that the decision to introduce urgent measures (which were in fact emergency measures) in Montenegro in October of last year was preceded by consultations between the most responsible comrades from the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium was not presented as a categorical assertion, but as an established assumption, something that was for the most part correctly and precisely interpreted by daily newspapers.

"The liberty to assume that at that time—something I still believe in—was based on the fact that it would be logical to expect that in an organized community the 'junior people' would have to, if not ask, then at least inform their 'seniors' in advance, even about less important things and decisions. If this custom did not exist, and if this were not done, this would disturb and scare me more than it would reassure me. After all, this kind of state-party dissociation from the 'Montenegro case' in relation to the 'Vojvodina case' would be difficult to explain, let alone defend!

"I cannot accept the explanation contained in the 'statement' of the LCY Central Committee Section for Information and Propaganda Activities that my assumption represents an 'arbitrary speculation,' mainly because this statement is sheer nonsense and because it is incorrect and drawn from a stale arsenal of political accusations. I am saying this although I know, on the basis of the explanation contained in a resignation recently submitted to this section, what the current conduct and 'technology' are in this section.

"Finally, not because I especially wanted to leave this for the end, I would like to recall one thing: Comrades R. Dizdarevic, and Dr S. Suvar had the opportunity at the session of the SAWPY Presidium held on 12 January of this year to hear my assertion concerning the undoubted responsibility of the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the Secretariat for Internal Affairs for the measures undertaken against unarmed people in Titograd and Zuta Greda. Why did they not react then?"

FRG's Genscher Reassures Loncar on Visa Issue

LD2702161789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher today assured Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar that Yugoslavia's arguments would be taken into consideration on Wednesday when the Bonn government reviews the request for the introduction of visas for Yugoslavs.

Following the talks, Loncar pointed out that the fact the two ministers met was a sign that "they are not deaf and opposed to our arguments" in West Germany and that "there is an awareness that the introduction of visas would not be good."

A Bonn Foreign Ministry statement said the two ministers discussed the rise in the number of Yugoslavs seeking asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany and "How to avoid the burden on German-Yugoslav relations created by this development."

The statement emphasized that the ministers described relations between the two countries as "particularly friendly."

Loncar said Yugoslavia was prepared to do "everything possible" to turn back Yugoslav citizens trying to abuse the right to asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is particularly important for the two countries to cooperate on uncovering illegal organizations which bring the alleged "asylum seekers" into West Germany, Loncar said.

Emphasizing that Yugoslavia had no intention of in anyway limiting the freedom of movement of its citizens and travel abroad, Loncar pointed out the possibility of the implementation of regulations by which false "asylum seekers" could be punished for damaging Yugoslavia's reputation abroad.

The introduction of visas would be a burden not only on Yugoslav-West German relations, but it would be contrary to the current trends in Europe, the Yugoslav foreign secretary said.

He added that he had expressed "Yugoslavia's concern" over the possibility that the current intention of the Bonn government becomes model of the behaviour of the European Community towards third countries.

Loncar said he had called Genscher's attention to the fact that visas would be a burden for Yugoslavia at a moment when the country needed to strengthen its international credibility in view of the current economic reforms and its opening towards the world.

FRG Visa Introduction 'Step Back' in Relations

LD2402074689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0010 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—The Bonn government's intention to introduce visas for Yugoslav citizens is a step back in the two countries' relations and a political paradox in the current atmosphere of international relaxation, it was assessed today at the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia.

Delegates in the debate today viewed that this move by the Federal Republic of Germany might also mean some sort of pressure on other West European countries some of which could follow the Bonn decision.

Assistant Foreign Secretary Ilija Djukic said that the reintroduction of visas would be a debacle of sorts in the policy pursued by Bonn with which Yugoslavia twenty years ago signed the first agreement in Europe on abolishing visas. This, said Djukic, precede in its own way the present processes and the universal respect of human rights.

Memorandum on Cooperation Signed With Iran

AU2602164089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Successful Dialogue"]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and 'Ali Khamene'i, Iranian head of state, concluded their talks today in Belgrade and stressed that cooperation, and especially economic cooperation, between the two countries could be far better.

The two presidents confirmed the wish of Yugoslavia and Iran to continue dialogue and contacts at all levels, and in this context stressed the usefulness of frequent meetings of not only people from so-called high-level politics, but of experts and business representatives of the two countries as well.

They also discussed the preparations of the Nonaligned Movement for the ninth summit in Belgrade; Khamene'i stressed that Iran is very interested in being included in the course of the preparations. Tehran feels that it is very important that the nonaligned summit will be held in Belgrade and that Yugoslavia will be the presiding country during a period when the movement will have to actively contribute to consolidating positive world trends and solving the problems that have amassed in international relations.

Today's meeting between Dizdarevic and Khamene'i began in private, which is usual under such circumstances. However, what slightly surprised the reporters, and it could be said, the colleagues, of the two presidents was the length of this separate "introductory" part of the Yugoslav-Iranian talks at the highest level. So, only after 1 and ½ hours, Dizdarevic and Khamene'i joined the other members of the delegations.

The 3-day official and friendly visit by President Khamene'i was comprehensive and successful, and represents a very strong stimulus to the further overall enrichment of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iran, it was concluded in these talks.

A memorandum on cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iran was signed at the end of the talks, which is a document bearing the signatures of the foreign ministers Budimir Loncar and 'Ali Akbar Velayati. The memorandum is the result of a joint assessment that it was appropriate to formulate such a document considering the developed level of and broad opportunities for the development of relations between Yugoslavia and Iran.

Much attention was paid to increasing and leveling out of joint trade and the development of more superior forms of economic cooperation through the exchange of technology, specialization, cooperation on a long-term basis, and so on.

Yugoslavia has shown its readiness to take part in programs for the renovation of Iran in those fields where its experience has already been confirmed. It is specifically stated in the document that possibilities exist for the expansion of cooperation in the energy industry, industry in general, the naval infrastructure, and agriculture, as well as in the field of information, transport, science, culture, education, and sport.

Human Rights Forum Denounces Threat to Rushdie
LD2402135289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and the Legal Security of Citizens today issued a statement in which it protests in the most energetic terms against Khomeyni's order that Salman Rushdie must be killed.

This order for crime, the statement says, provokes disgust and offends the moral sensibilities of mankind, claiming writer Salman Rushdie must be executed because his thinking differs from an official ideology.

In this instance, the forum stresses that it is not only defending freedom of artistic creativity and the life of one writer, but the dignity and achievements of civilization in the modern world as well.

The forum expresses the hope that the SFRY as well, as far as possible, will officially and publicly condemn this terrorist command and stand on the side of the freedom and integrity of each individual.

Montenegro Condemns Khamene'i Stand on Rushdie
LD2402182289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin SAWP Republican Conference Presidium most strongly condemned the statement of Iranian President Khamene'i made 2 days ago at the Belgrade news conference, at which he said "the arrow is already on its way to the heart of the blasphemous Rushdie, and he must be executed." In the opinion of this organ, this was contrary to all the norms of civilization. The Presidium also thinks that Yugoslavia must not be a stage for the launch of such public blackmail and the pronunciation of death sentences. In this way, Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, abused the hospitality of Yugoslavia—his statement is a hard blow to the freedom of creativity and dignity of men, regardless of their race, nationality, or religious creed.

"Not disputing the basic principles of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and the policy of nonalignment, the Montenegrin SAWP Republican Conference Presidium thinks that economic and political interests on the international scene cannot be realized at the expense of the dignity of a nation, the achievements of civilization, humanism, and the freedom of artistic creativity.

"The Presidium most vigorously protests against the fact that Yugoslav official organs failed to dissociate themselves from such a statement, asking at the same time, "Did it have to be Yugoslavia where the arrow was shot?"

Serbian LC Defines Issues of LCY Congress
LD0603232589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium proposes that the tasks of Communists in the struggle for social reform should be the issue of an extraordinary congress of the LCY. This is the most important conclusion at a session today of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium (chaired by Slobodan Milosevic) at which the preparations for and the issues of the extraordinary congress were discussed.

At the Presidium session it was particularly stressed that the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC has the statutory right to call for an extraordinary congress, and it is also the statutory obligation of the LC Central Committee to convene such a congress, that is, to reach the decision on its convening within 3-months through consulting the republican leaderships, the leadership of the Kosovo LC, and basic LC organizations in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army not about whether to have an extraordinary congress but rather when and how to prepare it, what the agenda and the issues will be, something that is to be done on the basis of proposals to this effect submitted by the initiator, that is, the Vojvodina LC. Hence it is unacceptable that the demand by the conference of the Vojvodina LC, which is based on the statute, should be treated as just one of the opinions regarding the convening of the congress, the report from this session stresses.

The Presidium maintains that it would be impossible to discuss the essential reformist stands regarding the spheres of economy, social services, and political system only within the framework and context of the debate about reform in the LC or, it would be worse still to have the debate reduced to internal party issues, relations in the LC itself, and to establishing its position and role in the political system of which the reformed has not been completed yet and about which there is a great deal of controversy and disagreement.

The LC alone cannot define its role within the political system but rather can do it together with all the socialist forces by stating rules in this system and in the constitution as well. In this way the LC will be subject to general norms adopted by all the citizens of Yugoslavia. The LC can express its readiness for demonopolization not through its own reform alone and the norms of its statute but rather through fighting for the reform of the political system and the adoption of the SFRY Constitution where the Communists participate together with

all the citizens. It appears that the deep reforms of the political organization of society and the economic and political system are to be the inevitable issues of the congress.

It is the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium's stance that the preparations for the extraordinary congress cannot be carried out successfully without a reexamination and clearing up of the opinions concerning the character of the Yugoslav federation, the Assembly's system, political pluralism, relations in the socialist front, the relations between the state and political organizations, the state and politics on the one side and the economy and self-management in enterprises—which should be granted full independence—on the other side, relations between the nations along the principles of class and nation, and so forth. Today the theses to the effect that the federalization of the LCY should be consolidated and even improved with elements of a confederation are gaining prominence. The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium states that without a radical reform of the LC it will be impossible to implement the economic and political reform but also that without the reform of the political system and the reform in the sphere of economy and socioeconomic relations there will be no reform in the LC. Only a comprehensive approach, comprehensive social reform including the reform of the LC can make it possible for the LC, together with all the socialist forces, to lead society beyond the crisis.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium thus proposes that the communists' tasks in the struggle for the social reform should be the issue of the extraordinary congress. This also means the economic reform, where we have made only the initial moves, the reform of the political system, where only the first stage of changes has so far been realized, the reform of social services, education, science and culture, where the reform has not yet started at all, and the reform of the LC where also nothing has been solved. These reforms which we convey by the term of social reform are the only way for creating the conditions for the emergence from the deep and lasting crisis.

This is in accordance with the key stances of the First LCY Conference about an urgent and simultaneous implementation of the three reforms—economic, political and the reform of the Serbian LC—something that has not yet been realized.

At the very beginning of the first reformist year a great deal of confusion and dilemmas appeared particularly in work collectives. Hesitancy and waiting for clear explanations of the new "rules of the game" diverts the attention of communists in management structures and among direct producers while diminishing their interest to focus on themselves and their tasks and preventing them from making energetic reformist moves, before the adoption of the new systemic solutions, on the basis of their own manufacturing technological and export programs which would be aimed at the consolidation of quality factors within production.

All these things slow down the LC's action and impede the efforts to increase the number of proreform people and to create at all levels a firm front for changes and against an economic, social and political status quo. In such circumstances neither the communists nor the other progressive forces have been mobilized enough to implement the economic reform. The key systemic, stimulating and other levers of a more successful economy and its economic restructuring for its more efficient participation in the international allocation of labor and the new technological revolution have not yet been activated either.

Thus, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium concluded, the extraordinary congress should provide unity about all the other key issues for the implementation of a comprehensive economic reform as the essential precondition for and the integral part of the comprehensive reform of our society but also about all the other issues of the reform of the political system, reforms in the spheres of education, science, and culture, and the reform of the LC itself.

These are all the questions on which the LCY ought to take clear stands at its extraordinary congress.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium maintains that the issue of the extraordinary congress should not be reduced to the LC's reform but that all the tasks concerning the implementation of the social reform should be ensured.

Relations in society cannot be made democratic by a mere reform of the LC, although it is one of the conditions for the democratization of the society, the report says in conclusion.

Pristina University Officials Said Detained

LD0603174389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's session of the action conference of the LC of Pristina University it was reported that the security organs have detained Ismet Jasanica, director of the student center, and Kadrus Isljami, manager of the 25 May sports hall in Pristina, for their involvement in the events of November and February. Since they have been detained until further notice at the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, those responsible in these institutions have appointed people to act in their place.

It has been reliably learned that Ibro Osmani, chief of the Center for Information of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is also being held.

To date there has been no denial of reports that Ekrem Arifi, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and Ljazer Krasnici, director of Elektrokosovo, and some other industrial leaders have been detained.

Kosovo Association Demands Milosevic Resign
LD2502003889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—During the session of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo delegates Riza Luka, Nebih Zarici, Ramadan Bitici, and Enife Ljesani demanded resignations from Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, Husamedin Azemi, and Slobodan Milosevic.

This demand, rather unusual to be made in an assembly house, has been explained by the apparent need to fulfill one of the basic reasons allowing the miners to leave the pit in Stari Trg. Mile Banus and Zivorad Cuckic dissociated themselves from such statements recalling the clear conclusions by top party organs in the country, republic and province of Kosovo. A painful and tense atmosphere ensued, charged with nationalist sentiments. Nonetheless, tensions abated following the statement by Aleksandar Gogic, who appealed to reason and tolerance in this exceptionally difficult political situation.

Albanians Accused of Closing Stores in Solidarity
LD0603205889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—According to the provincial secretariat of economy, the Market Inspectorate throughout Kosovo has so far filed 810 offense reports against owners of private workshops, restaurants, and stores who did not work during the strike of Trepca miners. Private owners of Albanian nationality kept their shops closed until 27 February as a sign of solidarity with the Stari Trg miners' demands.

During the last few days a variety of information has been provided from different quarters on the number of offense reports filed against private owners. For instance, journalists were told on 3 March that in Pristina municipality alone more than 500 reports had been filed. However, the following day the information given at the press conference in the provincial secretariat for information stated that a total of 250 offense reports have been filed throughout the province.

End to Kosovo's 'Anti-Albanian Campaign' Urged
AU2802102289 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Feb 89 p 1

[Danilo Slivnik commentary under the rubric "Topic of the Day" and headlined "Kosovo, Our Destiny"]

[Text] There are times in politics when it is difficult to say that a turning point has come, but there are also times when the emergence of a turning point must no longer be ignored. Judging by all available evidence, this is now the time in Kosovo where the situation has been growing dangerously tense for several days already and where we are witnessing a rebellious underground strike by Albanian miners who seem to be demanding little for themselves but a great deal more for others, that is, for their compatriots in Kosovo.

On countless occasions in the last 30 years, we in Yugoslavia have stated our views on the question of a people or a nationality being threatened but we have obviously not taken them into consideration in practice, because otherwise we could not now have found ourselves in a situation where suddenly all of us feel threatened. The situation in Kosovo is all the more complicated because, influenced by a growing instability and by the arrogant demands of those who do not find the federal state to their liking, we have somehow managed to pretend to accept things as they are and have allowed some among us to foist upon all of us some kind of "Kosovo complex," a solution according to which most of the affairs in our state and especially those in the SR of Serbia depend on a "stabilization of the Kosovo situation...."

However, what at the beginning still seemed to some people an acceptable political game, or at least some sort of delayed historical settling of accounts, is now slowly turning into a tragedy in which attempts are made to exact from the Albanians much more than the actual bill incurred by them even in the most stormy political periods (say, in the controversial year 1981). For this reason, we must now resolutely declare that any kind of anti-Albanian campaign in Kosovo must stop immediately, that the Albanians have the right to defend the 1974 Constitution, that the rules valid for them cannot be different from those valid for other peoples and nationalities, and that those who have had the most to say about them in the recent period—for instance, Stipe Suvar and Slobodan Milosevic, among others—must finally begin to talk to them.

Kosovo Paper Views Albanian Government Changes
AU2502201089 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 20 Feb 89 p 8

[Unattributed article: "The Advantage of the Pragmatists"]

[Text] The time when a change of leaders in Albania meant their execution is over. However, the consequences of the great changes in 1981 are still over. At the time, Mehmet Shehu, the prime minister, was killed following his dramatic controversy with the party's leader, Enver Hoxha. Following that, most of Mehmet Shehu's followers were discharged from their high positions, and some of them even lost their heads. That incident told the world that there was in Albania a conflict between the pragmatic trend, which Enver Hoxha very likely tolerated, and the ultra-Stalinists led

by Mehmet Shehu. When Enver Hoxha died in 1985, he left the question of his legacy unresolved, as well as the struggle between the followers of a strong hand and those who were more moderate.

The party's leadership fell to Ramiz Alia, a pragmatic person who was at the head of the government following the purges in 1981. Adil Carcani is not easy. The pragmatists believe that Albania, which must develop the authentic road of socialism, must not necessarily honor the orthodox road traced by Enver Hoxha. Ramiz Alia began to open up the "stoppers." He helped develop the semi-independent cooperatives in the countryside, replacing the state-owned ones. He stimulated the workers to work more. Meanwhile, there began a liberalization of the atmosphere in culture. The considerably bleak life of young people in Albania became a theme in the literary journals and novels. This was followed by the establishment of economic links with some countries.

It is now clear, however, that there are circles who are not pleased with this new course. A powerful group still exists in the leadership, which has gathered around Hoxha's widow, and which maintains that social discipline is the prerequisite in resolving all problems. Tension between modernists and conservatives was observed even before, but has become more obvious recently. Ramiz Alia and Adil Carcani, pragmatic leaders, did not lose their positions, but one of their major allies, a relatively young member of the Politburo and deputy prime minister, Besnik Bekteshi, age 48, lost his position in the government and is now minister of industry and mines, and provisional minister of energy. He was replaced by two other members of the Politburo, who supposedly belong to the old trend. These are Simon Stefani and Pali Miska. They have taken over the internal affairs and the agriculture department.

The government concentrated the various posts into the hands of fewer politicians. It appears that the conservatives have again won the upper hand. On the other hand, it appears that the party secretariat includes more modernists, since Hekuran Isai returned to the position that he lost 2 years ago, and he is known as a follower of reforms. In addition, strong man Simon Stefani, as well as Hajredin Celiku, left the secretariat. This means that Albania currently has a more conservative government, but a more pragmatic party secretariat. Briefly, the first round of the contest has ended in a draw. However, if we look at this only as the first round of a prolonged contest, it is possible to say that in the long-term the party positions are more important than government positions. Nevertheless, it appears that the pragmatists have won a light advantage.

Vojvodina Names Candidates for SFRY Presidency

LD2402202489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Today's Vojvodina SAWP conference at which four candidates were endorsed for SFRY Presidency membership, marked the end of the procedure of proposing candidates for the highest state function. Thrity-two candidates were proposed for 8 Presidency spots, 1 for each republic and the 2 provinces.

Bosnia-Hercegovina proposed three candidates: Nenad Kecmanovic, Milan Skoro, and Stevan Mirjanic; Macedonia nominated three as well: Jakov Lazaroski, Gligorie Gogovski, and Petar Gosev; and Croatia three: Stipe Suvar, Ante Markovic, and Andjelko Runjic. Montenegro's three candidates are Nenad Bucin, Dimitrije Baucal, and Mijat Sukovic, while Serbia has four candidates: Borisav Jovic, Aleksandar Bakocevic, Mihajlo Milojevic, and Slobodan Unkovic. Vojvodina proposed four candidates: Dragoje Zarkovic, Djordje Scepanovic, Mihalj Kertes, and Dragutin Zelenovic; and Kosovo six: Remzi Koljgeci, Rahman Morina, Vukasin Jokanovic, Bajram Seljani, Savatije Komadinic, and Tomislav Sekulic. Slovenia has six candidates: Dusan Sinigoj, Marko Bulc, Janez Drnovsek, Tomaz Kalin, Gojko Stanic, and Vinko Vasle.

Voting on these candidates is under way in municipal and basic organizations of the Slovene SAWP, where a different procedure exists for proposing candidates than in other republics and provinces. [Passage omitted]

In keeping with the previously established order, the president of the SFRY Presidency, from 15 May, will be the candidate from Slovenia and the vice president from Serbia.

Vojvodina Leadership Addresses Constitution

LD0603210689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Novi Sad, March 6 (TANJUG)—Vojvodina's provincial party Presidency said the adopting of amendments to Serbia's republican Constitution was the only solution to the Kosovo problem today.

Serbia is Yugoslavia's only republic with two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Serbia's new Constitution should give the republic state jurisdiction on its entire territory and make it equal in rights to the other five republics.

Yugoslavia's 1974 Constitution made the provinces virtually equal in rights to the republics.

Vojvodina's party leadership said the political mood needed to adopt the amendments existed in the province. Serbia's assembly recently formulated the amendments to the republican Constitution and sent it to the provinces for verification.

Vojvodina's party leadership accepted the special measures introduced in Kosovo last Monday after several-day strikes which threatened to paralyse the province by Kosovo's ethnic Albanian population. The leadership said the measures were an act of defence of Yugoslavia's vital functions.

The situation in Kosovo is alarming, the Vojvodina party leadership said and added that immediate fundamental changes were needed to resolve it.

They said disunity and lack of determination in implementing the Yugoslavia policy on Kosovo were the causes of the situation in Kosovo as well as the fact that correct conclusions of party and state forums were most often not realised in practice.

Vojvodina's party leadership offered support to the policy of settling accounts with those to blame for not implementing the policy on Kosovo, and demanded that all the guilty be disclosed, not only in Kosovo but in other parts of the country.

Belgrade LC Holds Conference on Reforms

AU2802121689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Extraordinary Congress Should Be Held at Once"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb—Everybody is fed up with poverty, which has reached the culmination point. The cost of living is extremely high and in January inflation was 291 percent. If one is to go by the old proverb: The morning indicates what the day is going to be like, then one should not even try to imagine what inflation will be at the end of the year. It is for this reason that we need a reform.

Reform is needed everywhere, including the political, economic, and social spheres. The Communists of Belgrade, above all the workers, favor specific changes. They have the opinion that social reform must lead toward a richer and more democratic life, in both the material and spiritual sense. This is why there must be no delay in implementing economic and other reforms.

These are the messages from the First Conference of the Belgrade LC which opened this morning. The opening speech on the tasks of the Belgrade LC in implementing the stands adopted at the Serbian LC Conference concerning the realization of the economic and social reforms was made by Dr Rados Smiljkovic, president of the Belgrade LC City Committee Presidium. The conference is attended by Slobodan Milosevic, Bogdan Trifunovic, Dusan Ckrebic, Dr Dobrivoje Vidic, and party delegations from Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Novi Sad, and Skopje. There are 297 delegates and 300 guests participating in the work of the first conference. Some 80 delegates have expressed the wish to speak.

The basic message of the Communists from the capital city is that, in addition to consistent implementation of the reforms, the economy should be relieved of excessive taxes. The state should reduce its appetite and serve the economy, rather than vice versa.

Serbian Writers Break Relations With Slovenes

AU0203131489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 89 p 17

[Text of Serbian Writers Association's Letter to the Slovene Writers Association: "You Have Betrayed Friendship"]

[Text] To the Slovene Writers Association, Ljubljana, Tomsiceva 12:

Before the eyes of all Slovenes, Serbs, and the world, we accuse you of betraying the traditional, historic, and predestined friendship between our two nations.

Just as one does not mention rope in the home of a hanged man, so does one not mention pits [presumably alluding to pits in which Ustashas threw Serbs during World War II] to the Serbian people. The Serbian people did not go to the pits voluntarily, nor were they able to return from them.

We inform you that as of yesterday we have broken off all relations with the Slovene Writers Association because of your organization and participation in the meeting of hatred against the Serbia people in Ljubljana on 27 February 1989, and your taking sides with the enemy of Serbia. [signed] The Board of the Serbian Writers Association

Ecology Protest Meeting Held in Pancevo

LD2602020889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Pancevo, Feb 25 (TANJUG)—Nearly 5,000 citizens of the city of Pancevo, near Yugoslavia's capital, Belgrade, gathered at an ecological protest meeting today demanding that a healthy environment be secured.

It was said at the meeting that the atmosphere over the city, which has a number of industrial plants, annually receives 16,000 tons of sulfur-dioxide, 6,600 tons of nitrogen oxide, 1,700 tons oamoniac, 164 tons of chlorine and many more other known and unknown poisons.

The participants at the meeting requested of the Pancevo plants-pollutants and the Pancevo commune to respect all regulations for protecting human environment, to ban the construction of new plants-pollutants on the city's territory and as soon as possible form a special technical center, which would monitor the pollution of the air, food, watersoil and the health of the population.

Similar protest meetings were recently held in Yugoslavia's largest iron and steel industry center Zenica (in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina) and the nearby mine basin Kacanj. Slovenia is so far the only Yugoslav republic which has an organized ecological movement.

Stari Trg Miners' News Conference Described

AU0203194189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Feb 89 p 11

[M. Antic report: "In the Shadow of the 'Liaison Officers'"]

[Text] Stari Trg, 24 Feb—After persistent refusal to see journalists and for journalists to see them, the miners of the "Trepca" mine in Stari Trg held a surprise press conference yesterday afternoon 600 meters underground.

Satisfied with those who found themselves there, they distributed helmets and led the way to the mine pit. However, at that point, there was a long wait. The reporters from foreign agencies were first allowed to go into the mine (we heard "See, even America knows about us"), and then domestic reporters who, judging by everything—at least those from Belgrade—would not have succeeded had they not been among the first, like those from Pristina Television and RILINDJA.

Even at the entrance to the mine, the miners' "liaison officers" showed greater interest in the journalists from Slovenia, and one condition was made, that JEDINSTVO and VECERNJE NOVOSTI journalists could not go into the pit.

The team, composed mainly of television and radio reporters from Ljubljana and Pristina, reached the eighth level. The tired and unshaven miners were sitting and standing at the end of a long and dark corridor in the half-darkness, with lamps on their helmets.

The impression was that the majority of them, at least of those that we saw—and there were no more than about 100 of them—had been there for quite a long time. We were greeted by representatives and organizers of the miners. Their alert eyes could not be distracted for one moment. They immediately pointed out that we were not tiring the miners much "because they were already tired, exhausted, and very agitated." Then, they very skillfully gave statements themselves, in which they repeated the demands that had already been made, especially the one in which they made their leaving the mine and the beginning of negotiations conditional on the resignations of Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi. They said that they would even turn to the United Nations. They had been stressing this since the morning because this had been said by students from Pristina at a protest meeting last night. The miners' representatives put emphasis in everything on the firm resolution that "they would not leave the mine until the demands were met, even if it cost lives."

Finally, the following picture is engraved on the memory: The miners remained in the shadow of the organizers. They were not allowed to speak at all. They did not have anything special to say. The tired and unshaven ones watched and listened to their representatives, who were clean shaven and smartly dressed—nothing was said about them not taking food. The so-called "liaison officers" were the most vocal in everything. They were rested and fresh, and everything depended on them.

Officials in Titova Mitrovica and the Trepca combine said that no one was coming out of the mine shaft, let alone going down into it.

Trepca Managing Board Sets Up Headquarters

LD0303200889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Zvecan, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The session of the Trepca managing board decided that a special headquarters should be formed to coordinate all activities in the work organization of Trepca mine and flotation. The headquarters will consist of cadres from Stari Trg mines, and members of the managing board of the plant and Trepca's Institute for Lead and Zinc. Since Aziz Abrasi, president of the managing board, has been detained, the board concluded, in accordance with the acts of the plant presently in force, that Ljubomir Radovic, vice president of the managing board for economic activity, will replace the president of the managing board of the plant in absence. The session established tasks and undertook other activities for normalization of the situation in all organizations of associated labor of the Trepca plant, especially regarding normalization of the production, including preparations for organizing and beginning work in the Trepca mine in Stari Trg.

According to information provided by Ljubomir Radovic, other Trepca collectives' activities and work are generally in accordance with tasks established by the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection and with tasks originating from the obligation to implement the special measures. Besides this, ideopolitical activity is under way in work organizations and local communities where greater numbers of Trepca miners live, where the current situation and the conclusions, assessments, and stances of top party and state organs, as well as measures undertaken for the stabilization of the situation are being discussed.

Stari Trg Miners Continue Sick Leave 6 Mar

LD0603115189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1016 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 6 March (TANJUG)—It would appear that the Stari Trg miners will not go down into the pit today, either. According to Ljubomir Radovic,

acting chairman of the Trepca board of management, the technical inspection of the mine has been completed, and doctors' reports are expected to be available this morning. Most of the workers are on sick leave, which leave should end today.

The mine management has set up a special team, whose task it is to visit the miners and talk to them. Radovic also said that most miners will go back to work as soon as conditions allow them to do so.

Kosovo Assesses Cost of Trepca Mine Strike

LD0603225589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, March 6 (TANJUG)—The strike of miners in the Trepca lead mine in the Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, at the end of February cost the mine 12.248 million dinars ($1.8 million), it was announced here today at the session of Kosovo's Chamber of Economy.

Because of the sit-in and of removing its consequences the complex lost 3,400 tonnes of lead and produced considerably lower quantities of silver, bismuth and gold.

Consequences at large of the several-day-long strike in the pit by ethnic Albanian miners, from time to time joined by other employed ethnic Albanians as well as by ethnic Albanian pupils and students, have not yet been summed up.

The production in the Stari Trg mine has been returning to normal by degrees. All the pits, except the Stari Trg whose 1,300 pitmen initiated the strike, have started their daily production. Still uncertain for the time being is when the Stari Trg mine is to resume its production.

From talks with miners it can be concluded that a large number among them are willing to go down into the pit after the mine has been technically declared fit, but also to be found are some miners who refuse to do so as long as their demands brought forward during the strike have not been considered.

The striking pitmen discontinued their strike Monday last week after Kosovo's three party leaders named (Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi and Ali Sukrija) fulfilled their demand and submitted their resignations. The miners still stick, nevertheless, to another seven demands, among them to have the authorities desist from changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia within which the Province of Kosovo has its autonomy.

The intended changes should secure state functions to Serbia all over its territory (including its two autonomous provinces, namely Kosovo and Vojvodina). They are considered in Serbia as a precondition for settling the state of affairs and putting an end to ethnic Albanian separatism in Kosovo.

Classes are on in schools in Kosovo and at Pristina University whose students attending classes in the Albanian language also joined the end-of-February strike, but the numbers of ethnic Albanian students present are somewhat lower.

The director of Pristina students center and the manager of the sports hall in which ethnic Albanian students gathered for eight days in order to support the striking miners were called upon for interrogation, it was disclosed today. Both of them are suspected of having been involved in the Kosovo demonstrations last November, officially qualified as counter-revolutionary.

Miners' Strike Called 'Matter of Humaneness'

AU0303193989 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 89 p 3

[Vjekoslav Krsnik commentary: "The Question of Humaneness, Not Politics"]

[Text] Another basic tenet of the LC Program has been experiencing its tragic rejection, recently through the events in the Trepca mines 100 meters underground, where 1,300 miners are asking that their political demands be fulfilled. If this program says that man is our greatest value, then 1,300 destinies in the Trepca Stari Trg mine, multiplied by the number of members of their numerous families, belong primarily to the sphere of humaneness where all ideological barriers collapse, even though their demands are primarily political, with their Gandhi-style nonviolent behavior. If, however, as some people claim, the miners are being manipulated and are under the influence of Albanian nationalists and separatists, the situation still imposed the obligation of establishing contact and dialogue with them in order to find out the real truth on the basis of well-argued facts.

Unfortunately, it is obvious that the reaction of the top leaders of the LCY and the LC of Serbia, who were invited to meet the miners was not, to say the least, politically wise: They postponed their arrival in Pristina for 4 full days, and when they finally arrived there, their speeches and statements failed to convince the strikers in the Stari Trg mine and the majority of the Kosovo population who started the general strike that they should return to the surface, that is, to work. Not the smallest attempt was made to fulfill at least some of the miners' demands, which could have been the first step in calming that volatile situation, dangerous not only for Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, but, in a way, even for the world, in which our country has lost itself several points in regard to respect and credibility as a result of this dramatic strike.

Are Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Shukrija really that irreplaceable and unique that they must be preserved even at the cost of the bare existence and health of 1,300 miners? Let us leave aside all scheming games and battles waged on the Yugoslav scene in the great showdown about selecting this country's future.

What is so important there that they have to be preserved, even when threatened by the tragedy of persistent Trepca miners? With what moral and human right—not to mention political, because he does not seem to have any limits there—can Slobodan Milosevic say that everybody can demand his or Morina's resignation, but that this can only be done in such a way that they step down at the will of the organization they represent. Did the overturned Vojvodina or Montenegrin leaders have that right?

It seems that under the pressure of the drama in the Stari Trg pit, the moment has come for Yugoslavia—including an equal Serbia, of course—to tell Slobodan Milosevic that there must not be double standards for the same or similar events just to suit the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia himself. The people's will must be fulfilled—this was said so many times by Slobodan Milosevic in his speeches, but the people's will must be fulfilled even when that does not suit himself and his pragmatic policy.

The dramatic Kosovo days have pointed to yet another dimension of the current Yugoslav crisis, which has been obvious for quite some time already, but has been manifested here in all its absurdity. Why did the miners invite the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia? Why was it not the president of the collective SFRY Presidency, and why did they not ask the president of the SFRY Assembly, in which they are represented at least formally through the delegate system, since obviously not all strikers are LC members? There is one answer and it is clear: It is because the excessively long political and cadre monopoly of the LC in all these institutions has excluded true democracy from our political life. All key positions and decisions have remained concentrated in the LCY structure, a structure which is ossified and bureaucratized from the point of view of the present democratic winds in the world, including the socialist world as well. This is indeed clear to those dealing with party theory and even to those dealing with the practice. The resoluteness to embark upon a radical reform of the LC as the "starting point of all starting points," which was announced in the conclusions of the first LCY conference, was blocked by a struggle within the LC itself, waged between those people who advocate a regeneration of the old communist model and those who advocate the modernization of the LC and the entire society. One must bear in mind that until the conservative forces in the LC step down from the stage, and until the true democratic wishes of peoples and nationalities in this federal community are fulfilled, we will not get out of the prolonged crisis or the drama with an uncertain outcome, which was created by the Stari Trg miners' strike.

Banja Luka Residents Demonstrate for United SFRY
LD0603180889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Banja Luka, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—We warn all those who think differently: We want only a united, socialist, federative Republic of Yugoslavia. We do not recognize it as something else—because our homeland is not something else.

This is the key message of today's meeting held under the slogan of "We will not give up Yugoslavia", which was attended by about 50,000 residents of Banja Luka. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Herecegovina Amends Constitutional
LD2402123589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Today the Political Chamber of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Changes to the Constitution of this republic will go into effect at the end of March 1989 at the joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly.

Sarajevo Citizens Polled on Multiparty System
LD2702115889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0904 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—To the question of whether the LCY is still the vanguard of the working class, the student magazine 'VALTER', which carried out an opinion poll among the people of Sarajevo aged between 17 and 74 years, received the answer in which 63 percent of the inhabitants believed that it is not, and 37 percent are of the view that it is. In this interesting opinion poll there was a very high percentage of views (44 percent), that a multiparty system should be introduced in our country. However, a higher percentage of citizens (56 percent) hold the opposite view. In this connection 60 percent of the inhabitants of Sarajevo are convinced that a multiparty system would aggravate intranational relations, while the remainder do not share this view. Those who are against the multiparty system believe that parties would be formed on the national basis and in the interest of individuals and groups, listing the prewar experience. Others again present the view that interparty competition would contribute to raising the quality of political life and the standard of living, and that multiparty system would not jeopardize intranational relations if the parties were Yugoslav-oriented.

In conclusion, answering the question of whether the ruling party structure will allow the introduction of the multiparty system, 17 percent of the citizens replied in the affirmative, while 83 percent believe that this will not happen.

Author Refuses To Serve Jail Term Voluntarily
LD2802124989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Janez Jansa, one of the group of four people sentenced by Ljubljana military court to a prison term for betraying military

secrets, has refused to start serving his already postponed sentence on 1 March. Jansa said this during the launch of his book, "On My Side," which is a compilation of his articles published over the last few years.

"Despite the present difficult situation, I nevertheless refuse to go prison voluntarily," Jansa said. He also indicated that others in the group—Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, and France Zavrl—would also refuse to serve their sentences.

Reporter Sentenced for POLITIKA Article

LD2602164489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0212 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Ratko Dmitrovic, journalist of RAFINERIJSKI LIST and part-time correspondent of POLITIKA, has been sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment because of his article "The Municipal President Also To Blame," carried in POLITIKA last year. The sentence was pronounced by the Sisak municipal court and will be in effect if confirmed by the district court. Journalist Dmitrovic only used material obtained from official sources, without commenting on them or expressing his own opinion.

Human Rights Forum Makes Appeal for Funds

LD2602165389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)— The Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and Legal Security of Citizens has asked TANJUG to transmit the following information with a request that it be published in all public information media:

Announcement to Citizens

The Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and Legal Security of Citizens has recently set up a technical secretariat, whose duty will be to receive proposals, comments, and complaints from SFRY citizens who think that their human rights and legal security have been jeoparized. The address for correspondence is: Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and Legal Security of Citizens, Belgrade, Lenjinova 6.

The forum, founded by the SAWPY Federal Conference as an independent body, has 41 members and is initially being funded by the Socialist Alliance. Though all work of the forum members is voluntary and free, the funding of numerous activities such as research, questionnaires, the compulsory presence of forum members at places where the citizens' legal security has been threatened, contacts with similar international nongovernment organizations in the world, and other activities require considerably greater financial resources than the forum members could cover from their personal budgets. In regard to this account and at the proposal of a large number of citizens, which are fully in keeping with the spirit and letter of the code of practice, the forum informs the public that a gyro account has been set up to which citizens and work and social organizations can send their voluntary contributions.

The number of the account is: Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights—SAWPY Federal Conference—60815-745-1541.

Voluntary contributions from citizens and work and social organizations will be spent in an economical and strictly accounted way, open to public inspection.

'Anti-Slovene Economic Journalism' Refuted

AU2402135989 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 17 Feb 89 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "Special Warfare Once Again"]

[Text] Who says that we do not yet have a civil war? According to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Slovenia has started a war against other federal units; prices allegedly represent the heaviest artillery which it uses in this war. "What is involved is warfare against its allies in economic difficulties; it is not conventional warfare, but rather one of the types of special warfare, the consequences of which, however, may turn out to be no less catastrophic than would be the case if artillery guns thundered," the Macedonian daily ponders quite seriously.

The author of the NOVA MAKEDONIJA commentary, which certainly does not represent anything new in the anti-Slovene economic journalism, but which nevertheless is somewhat astonishing for its militant tone, once again takes offense over the prices of washing machines (it seems that the Gorenje products are the Slovene army's elite units). He says that Slovenes should realize that three-fourths of Yugoslavs are living at the level of bare existence, and asks in this connection whether Slovenia's aim is to see the "rest of Yugoslavia" transmute itself into a silent viewer of its products in shop windows, or to economically exhaust others, especially in the areas where Slovene producers already dominate or even enjoy a monopoly of the market.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA's pondering not only stands on shaky ground, but is also literally loaded with the logic of fantastic association; therefore, one must first of all decide whether it should be taken seriously. It apparently seems quite logical to the author to think that the Slovenes enjoy seeing how others are unable to buy their products and that they even send their products for display to all parts of the country in order to ensure themselves that enjoyment. It is also difficult to understand why Slovenia should strive to exhaust its "weaker allies": Is it in order to subsequently be forced to provide even larger funds to rescue the bankrupt republics, and to at least save Yugoslavia's life?

Thus, the Macedonian daily's claims are eminently absurd. Nevertheless, it seems that Slovenia will have to answer—for itself and for others—the question of why it

is at all possible for this kind of reasoning to find a place under the sun and to even multiply. As a matter of fact, speaking on the opening day of the meeting of self-managers in Kragujevac, a professor of the Skopje economic faculty declared that the equal value for all of the rule "from Triglav to Gevgelia" is the only proper medicine against inflation and for strengthening brotherhood and unity. And Slovenes must also admit to themselves that arguments similar to the Macedonian ones are heard in their own house, as well. On the very day of the opening of the Kragujevac meeting, the Kranj construction workers marched to the Slovene Assembly; it would be difficult to claim that they share the market view of economic and social justice.

Discounting the most gross insinuations made at Slovenia's expense, insinuations in which no attempt is made to hide their chauvinistic character (as for instance, the call to strike in all Slovene representative agencies in Belgrade), the northernmost republic should nevertheless face the political fact that its relatively high (?!) standard of living represents a thorn in the side of Yugoslavia's poorer regions. Still, this fact should be a reason for political offensive actions and not for a passive defense that is characteristic of Slovene politics in Yugoslavia. The advantages inherent in the Slovene economic "model" which are being eminently confirmed every day should be a reason for its expansion, and not for its retreat in the face of "arguments" of those who consider poverty as a moral value.

There are all indications that the Yugoslav "internationalist egalitarianism"—an egalitarianism that has already managed to spend so much money that it could have developed quite a nice and successful economy with it—has launched a new ideological and political offensive. Whatever complications this state and its reform efforts may yet encounter will objectively represent a success for this egalitarianism. Therefore, the question is to what extent it is appropriate to view all such "anticolonialist" arguments, similar to the one published by NOVA MAKEDONIJA, merely with a sublime indulgence, especially as we know that the economic and political forces in Yugoslavia are not social; or, maybe they are, and are so in the sense of a reverse relationship.

It is also necessary to be aware of the fact that all this falls within the context of the "battle for Markovic." What concessions will he have to make to pay for his market program if he wants to ensure that the principled coalition will not decide in a few months to replace him?

Government Provides Updated AIDS Statistics

LD2802043689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Since the beginning of this year, 9 more Yugoslavs have caught AIDS, and 10 have died from this disease. Since September 1985, the number of people with this disease in our country has reached 74, 35 of whom have died. This was stated today by the Federal Committee for Labor, Health, and Social Welfare.